

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER



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PREFACE.

THIS work is intended to be a history of the causes which led to the civil war, and of the events connected with it, considered not in a partisan, but in a philosophical and impartial spirit.

While I was writing a History of the Intellectual Development of Europe, my attention was often drawn to facts illustrating how much the national life of the American people had been influenced by uncontrollable causes, and how strikingly it exemplified the great truth that societies advance in a preordained and inevitable course.

I determined that, if circumstances should permit, I would devote myself to the study of the subject, and was confirmed in this resolution by the favor which was accorded to my work above mentioned, both here and in Europe. Meantime the civil war broke out, and added a new incentive to my intention.

For I saw that both in the Northern and Southern States public men were accusing one another with bitterness, each throwing the odium of responsibility on his antagonist, as if the war had not been connected with past influences and had no past history, but was the sudden result of the passions and fanaticism of the hour.

There seemed to be a forgetfulness of the fact that its origin dates before any of those who have been the chief actors in it were born. It came upon us in an unavoidable and irresistible way.

Now when we appreciate how much the actions of men are controlled by the deeds of their predecessors, and are determined by climate and other natural circumstances, our animosities lose much of their asperity, and the return of kind feelings is hastened.

While the tempest of war is raging, such ideas can not secure attention; but when peace succeeds, the voice of philosophy is heard

calming our passions, suggesting new views of the things about which we contended, whispering excuses for our antagonist, and persuading us that there is nothing we shall ever regret in fraternal forgiveness for the injuries we have received.

Can there be any thing more acceptable than the promotion of such a result? Attempts of this kind, though they may be imperfect, will, I am sure, for the sake of their object, find a warm welcome in the American heart.

With such resistless energy and such rapidity does the Republic march to imperial power, that social changes take place among us in a manner unexampled in the more stationary populations of Europe. There, public calamities are long remembered, and ancient estrangements are nourished for centuries. Here, perhaps in little more than a single generation, our agony will have been forgotten in the busy industry of a hundred millions of people, animated by new intentions, developing wealth and power on an unparalleled scale, and looking, as Americans always do look, only to the future, not to the past.

In writing this book I have endeavored to bear continually in mind the rules which Cicero prescribes for those who venture on historical compositions: "It is the first and fundamental law of history that it should neither dare to say any thing that is false, nor fear to say any thing that is true, nor give any just suspicion either of favor or disaffection; that, in the relation of things, the writer should observe the order of time, and add also the description of places; that in all great and memorable transactions he should first explain the counsels, then the acts, lastly the events; that in the counsels he should interpose his own judgment on the merit of them; in the acts he should relate not only what was done, but how it was done; in the events he should show what share chance, or rashness, or prudence had in them; that in regard to persons he should describe not only their particular actions, but the lives and characters of all those who bear an eminent part in the story."

It will be remarked that I have refrained from burdening my pages with many facts of American history, which, though they

may abound in interest, are not immediately connected with the object in view. When I have apparently departed from this rule, it has been because I know that this book will have many readers in Europe, who are, perhaps, not perfectly familiar with the details of our affairs. I have endeavored to present such incidents in a condensed manner, restricting myself to those points which seemed most essential to a clear comprehension of the subject, and have placed them in such a position and with such a frugality of words as not to be unnecessarily obtrusive on the American who knows well his own national annals.

The remaining two volumes of the work I shall publish as speedily as I can. The portion now offered to the public may, however, be considered as complete in itself, its object being to set forth the causes of the war.

So abundant are the materials at the disposal of the historian of this war, that his difficulty consists, not in acquiring more, but in condensing and compressing what he has. Owing partly to the inquisitive genius of our people, which searches into the details of every thing; partly to our habit of giving publicity to national affairs, and partly to the omnipresent espionage of American journalism, the secret history of these events has been laid bare in a manner that has never occurred in the political convulsions of Europe. I desire, however, here to acknowledge the obligations I am under to officers both of the army and navy, and also to civilians in eminent stations, who have sent me important documents, and furnished me with other valuable information. I would ask for a continuance of those favors.

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THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Subject proposed.—Its Difficulties.

In the course of American National Life three distinct Periods may be perceived.

The first was characterized by an earnest acceptance of the Idea of Political Unity; the second manifested itself by the Decomposition of the Nation that had arisen from that Idea into two geographical and opposing Political Powers—the North and the South, or the Free and the Slave; the third exhibits the Conflict of those Powers for Supremacy.

Since the production of Geographical Parties is due to Climate, the possibility of avoiding such Influences is considered, and the necessity of their Study by the Statesman insisted on.

Statement of the Topics treated of in the six Sections of this Volume.

I PURPOSE in these volumes to treat of the Origin and History of the Civil War which has so lately distracted and desolated the American nation; to seek out the causes that occasioned it, and consider in what manner they acted; to show how division and antagonism have arisen among a people once thought to be homogeneous; and to present a narrative of enthusiastic exertion and defeat on one side, of invincible perseverance and victory on the other. I shall have to describe military operations eclipsing in magnitude and splendor those of the French empire; a revolution in the art of war through the introduction of the steam-engine, the locomotive, the electric telegraph, rifled ordnance, iron-clad ships, and other inventions of this scientific age, sustained by the development and use of financial resources on a scale that has no parallel in the history of the world. I shall have to relate how from the

The subject proposed.

The civil war.

I.—B

midst of a free people armies emerged, which, in spite of appalling disasters and losses, were maintained for years at a million of men; how sanitary commissions and private benevolence supported and, indeed, excelled the providence of the government, depriving the battle-field and hospital of half their terrors. Inadequately as I may relate the story, no imperfection of mine can ever conceal the great result, recognized with transport by true men all over the world, that a republic, resting on free institutions and universal education, can maintain itself undismayed in the shock of war, and calm in the hour of triumph. Not without the conscious pride of patriotism I shall have to tell, that the conquering soldiers of Gettysburg and Richmond, recalling the example of their ancestors the conquerors of Yorktown, went back when their work was done to the farm, the workshop, or to trade; that an assaulted but victorious government disdained the cruel retributions of the scaffold, and acted with security on the principle that the causes of political crimes must be remedied, but the crimes themselves not avenged. The narrative of this great civil war abounds in lessons that will be of use to the descendants of those who participated in its sufferings and glory.

Of us it may be said, as Pericles said of his Athenian countrymen, that we are the only people of our times who have been found to be greater by experience than by report. If we have suddenly become a portent in the eyes of foreign nations, and have risen to a height of glory and of power, let us not forget that it is through those who have fallen on our battle-fields—those who have made this continent a sepulchre of illustrious men.

Perhaps, however, it may be thought that the time has not yet come to deal with these events impartially—that we are too near their occur-

Its effect upon
the nation.

The possibility of
considering it im-
partially.

rence. In this respect the truth of history depends on two conditions, fullness of information as to the facts, and freedom from bias as to persons. But there never was a war in the course of which publicity was so freely permitted, and the interior causes of movements so completely understood. As to bias, it is a mistake to suppose that time is any remedy for it. The life of Cæsar might have been written in the reign of Augustus not less impartially than nineteen centuries subsequently.

Even if the historian of contemporary events does labor under these disadvantages to the extent commonly supposed, he is not altogether without compensating benefits. The appreciation of an eye-witness must necessarily be more vivid than that of a remote inquirer. The motives of men are better interpreted by those who have known them personally than by those who must trust to tradition. It is for these reasons that there is so much significance in the remark of Niebuhr, that of all the great acts of Grecian antiquity the Peloponnesian War was the most immortal, because it was described by Thucydides, who served in it, and kept a journal of its events.

Such reflections have led me to suppose that, if it be not intrinsically impossible to relate with truth and impartiality the momentous events that have taken place in the nation and age in which I live, I might devote my declining years to this work of useful labor. Appreciating the difficulty of the task, in view of the mass of material to be considered, the interests that have been disturbed, the passions that have been excited, the hopes that remain unsatisfied, I submit these pages to the generosity of the reader rather than to his critical judgment.

There are three acts in the drama of American national life.

1st. The development of a sentiment of Unionism, which in time gathered strength sufficient to convert a train of feeble colonies scattered along the Atlantic coast into a great and powerful nation.

The three chief acts
of American life.

2d. The separation or differentiation of that nation, chiefly through the agency of climate, into two sections, conveniently known as the North and the South, or the free and the slave powers.

3d. The conflict of those powers for supremacy.

The outline of these acts is as follows :

From a nearly homogeneous English stock, the Atlantic coast of North America received two immigrations.

Character of the
first American im-
migrants.

That which settled in the South was of persons devoted to material objects, and appreciating ease and pleasure. That which found a home in the North was more austere : its moving influence was moral and religious ideas.

In one sense these two colonial bodies were not dissimilar, since they had come from a common ancestral home. In another they showed diversity, for they were of different social grades that had been sorted and parted from each other by antecedent English civil wars.

These immigrating bodies were affected by the climate to which they had come. It happened—or perhaps it was the result of prior and purposed selection—that there was a congeniality in each case between the temperament of the colonist and the place of his abode. The man of enjoyment found an acceptable home in the winterless fertile South ; the man of reflection amid the austerities of the North.

Climate thus augmented and perpetuated the initial differences of character. It converted what had been merely different classes in England into distinct national types in America.

For a long time the colonists experienced similar ex-

terior pressures. At first they had to maintain themselves against the Indians; then they had a common enemy in the French; still later, both felt the tyranny of the mother country. A sentiment that it would be well for such feeble communities as they were to unite for mutual protection gradually gained strength. It appeared first more than two hundred years ago (1643), among the New England colonies.

The establishment of THE UNION was the final embodiment of that sentiment.

Unionism implied a single NATION.
Development of Unionism and nationality. Though there was thus an initial race-difference between the North and the South, since they were respectively offshoots from different grades of English society, we must not give too much importance to that difference. In the scientific treatment of American history it can not be overlooked, but the antagonism arising from it was very feeble; so feeble, indeed, as scarcely to retard the progress of Unionism.

The differentiation or separation of the American people, though it had its beginning in English life and in pre-colonial times, may, without much error, be considered as having been substantially produced by the climate of this continent. The Teutonic characteristics of the Northern people were rendered more intense; the Southern people assumed those qualities which pertain to the nations of the southern border of the Mediterranean Sea.

A self-conscious democracy, animated by ideas of individualism, was the climate issue in the North; an aristocracy, produced by sentiments of personal independence and based upon human slavery, was the climate issue in the South—an aristocracy sub-tropical in its attributes, the counterpart to that which is found in the latitudes

But there was simultaneously a tendency to diversity in the production of a democracy and an aristocracy.

extending from the Pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Indus, imperious to its friends, ferocious to its enemies, and rapidly losing the capacity of vividly comprehending European political ideas.

Let us now observe each of these components of the Union as a power.

In a hot climate men work no more than necessity compels; they instinctively look with favor on slave labor. There had always been that disposition in the Southern states. Accidental circumstances gave it strength.

Effect of a hot climate on man.

At the time of the Declaration of Independence, Virginia was the most powerful of the colonies; she occupied a central position, and had in Norfolk one of the best harbors on the Atlantic. She had a vast western territory, an imposing commerce, and in the production and export of tobacco not only a source of wealth, but, from the mercantile connections it gave her in Europe, a means of refinement. It was through this

Political position of Virginia among the colonies.

circumstance that so many of her young men were educated abroad. When the epoch of separation from the mother country had come, and the question of confederation arose, she might have asserted her colonial supremacy; she might have been the central power. Many of her ablest men subsequently thought that, in her voluntary equalization with the feeblest colonies, the spontaneous surrender of her vast domain, the self-abnegation with which she laid all her privileges on the altar of the Union, she had made a fatal mistake. In her action there was something very noble.

Tobacco, which was the source of the wealth of Virginia, was altogether produced by slaves.

The progress of the physical sciences in Europe, and many admirable inventions of industrial art, created in the course of time a demand for another product, cotton,

which experience proved could be more advantageously produced in the Southern states than any where else, but produced in them only by slaves.

Hence, very soon, the whole economy of the South centred on slavery. That system gave to the master wealth, and, what was of equal importance, it gave to him personal leisure. His thoughts naturally reverted to the management of public affairs; his material prosperity and ease of circumstances led him to the pursuit of political power. In a few years the South had possession of all the departments of the Union government. It dominated in the nation.

In maintaining this supremacy, doubtless the intrinsic political power of Virginia, and the moral force arising from the acknowledged sacrifices she had made, contributed in no small degree. The first President of the United States was a Virginian, and he was re-elected. The second was from the North, perhaps a fraternal concession due to revolutionary recollections; but he was not re-elected. The third President was a Virginian, and he was re-elected. The fourth was a Virginian, and he was re-elected. The fifth was a Virginian, and he was re-elected. No small proportion of the profits of place and power poured into the South. Was there ever to be an end of this?

It will be seen on subsequent pages that, from the first attempt at confederation, the smaller states were in mortal terror of being overwhelmed by the greater. Maryland, Rhode Island, Delaware were full of apprehension as to what Virginia might do. Their protection consisted in asserting and upholding their rights as original and equal elements in the association — sovereigns, as they designated themselves. It was plain from the beginning that this doc-

Growth of the
slave interest in
the South.

Political ascenden-
cy of Virginia in
the Union.

Alarm of the small
states. Adoption of
the doctrine of state
rights.

trine of state-rights would always be upheld by the smaller states against the greater, by the weaker against the stronger, by the stationary against the progressive, and therefore, eventually, by the South against the North.

Now from the South let us turn to the North, and observe what was transpiring there.

In a cold climate man maintains an individual combat with nature and with competing men; he is every moment forced to make good his own ground. Hence he becomes self-reliant, and is perpetually occupied in carrying out his own intentions. With his own hand he makes his own fortune. The self-working North feels itself in irrevocable antagonism with vicarious labor; it detests negro slavery.

Effect of a cold climate on man.

The idealistic North—the materialistic South—there they stand in presence of one another. The former asks herself what is it that has given her companion paramount control in their common association—their Union. She sees that it is the very institution of which her conscience disapproves.

The North becomes restive under a continued exclusion from power.

I shall relate in this volume how, during the administration of Mr. Monroe, the North, then become rich, prosperous, intelligent, and determined to end this unfair exclusion, struck a blow at the vital part—the labor system of the South: it was the Missouri struggle. I shall relate how that was in due time retaliated by a counter-blow, nullification, struck by the South at the industry of the North.

Antagonism arises between the climate-changed Northern and Southern populations.

Meantime climate kept up its dissevering influence. Alienation was passing into antagonism. It became evident that there would be a struggle for the mastery.

I shall relate the stages of that struggle, and the various fortunes it exhibited. A history of the civil war has all the grand features of an epic poem. It is the story

of contending powers for empire—the free and the slave; it is a record of the victory of an idea.

There is a political force in ideas which silently renders protestations, promises and guarantees, no matter in what good faith they may have been given, of no avail, and which makes constitutions obsolete. Against the uncontrollable growth of the anti-slavery idea the South was forced to contend.

It is interesting to observe the history of that idea in America. The early colonists were all on an equality. Their language, their occupations, their hardships were all the same. They had the same relations with the mother country; they had endured at her hands the same wrongs; they rejoiced in the same victories, and were saddened by the same defeats; their hopes of future prosperity were in common. In their festivities they sang the same songs; in their devotions they knelt before the same God.

When, therefore, the Declaration of Independence asserted the equality of all men, it met with a willing assent. In the thin strand of country that lay along the Atlantic, the differentiation of society into orders had hardly yet begun. Among the whites there was a general equality. No castes or grades existed.

The African population at that time gave no concern. It was thought that, from uncongeniality of climate and other causes, it would die out of itself.

But when the Revolutionary War was fairly commenced, and the negro, both in the North and the South, was seen fighting by the side of his master, thoughtful men began to perceive that they were committing a wrong. In Massachusetts the Africans respectfully represented to the Honorable Council and House that they had “cheerfully entered the field of battle in defense of the common cause,”

The political force
of ideas.

Origin and progress
of the anti-slavery
idea.

and asked as a reward that their children might be free at the age of twenty-one years. The moderation with which these persons bore themselves in the matter made them many friends, and eventually and imperceptibly slavery died out in that state.

In this manner, the abstract idea of human rights, which had been promulgated and upheld by the great French writers of those times, found its practical exemplification in America.

It becomes predominant in the North.

At the formation of the Constitution it was also believed that African slavery would in like manner die in the South as it was dying in the North. Without serious opposition from any quarter, three very important points were introduced into that instrument.

The first of these was equality of state representation in the United States Senate: this, in the subsequent course of events, led to the doctrine of the balance of power between the North and the South, its inevitable result being a rivalry in territorial expansion. The second was the three-fifths slave computation in the apportionment of federal numbers, which at once tended to enhance the political value of the negro, and to exclude all other forms of labor and the use of machinery. The third was the contingent stoppage of the African trade, the emigrant supply for the North being unchecked. The South would never have consented to this had its operation been foreseen. It was this that eventually overwhelmed her.

Relation of the Constitution to slavery.

While things were in this position at the close of the last century, and good men all over the republic were expecting that an institution which, perhaps not altogether correctly, they affirmed had been forced upon them by the mother country, would presently pass away, a new influence destined to disappoint their hopes was coming into operation.

The physical sciences and industrial arts had been rapidly advancing in England. The steam-engine had been invented, and machinery for spinning and weaving greatly improved. An increasing demand for cotton had arisen. It was discovered that the Gulf States could supply it more advantageously than any other part of the world, but, under the circumstances of the times, it could only be secured in them by the labor of African slaves. The slave therefore brought his master gold from abroad, and gave him political power in Congress at home.

Unexpected growth
of the slave interest.

It was not wonderful, then, that the slave system struck its roots through Southern society. From the beginning it had not been unacceptable to the climate-changed people, who, little disposed to work themselves, looked upon labor as discreditable.

It becomes predom-
inant in Southern
life.

Warmth and cold had decomposed the American people, and ranged them in climate sections north and south. Unforeseen circumstances that were happening in Europe had given to each its special interests, and those interests were hourly becoming more and more antagonistic. In the competition that ensued there was an unlimited foreign labor supply for the one—that for the other was cut off. When the competition rose to a struggle, and the struggle became an exasperated conflict, it was not difficult to see what must be the inevitable result of this disparity.

In the contest for territory, which politically meant a contest for the balance of power in the United States Senate, the North could solidly make good her ground; as her expansion went on, she could put her voting emigrants on every acre; but the South, though she might claim territory, had not the means of filling it. Her policy spontaneously defeated itself.

Enfeeblement of the
South through the
stoppage of African
immigration.

In two particulars, therefore, the South was placed at a disadvantage. She was contending with a moral idea which was momentarily increasing in force—the wrongfulness of slavery. She was also contending with a momentarily increasing material force arising from the physical growth of the North.

Struggle between
the North and
South on the la-
bor question.

The first clear view of the position of affairs in the republic was had, as I have already remarked, during the presidency of Mr. Monroe, by the ruined Federalists. In their meditations during an exclusion from place and power, forced upon them for twenty years by the allied Democratic and slavery influences, they had detected the weak point of their adversaries. The movement they initiated in the Missouri struggle was sure in the end, though party names might change, to be crowned with success.

Irresistible prog-
ress of the anti-
slavery idea.

The blow thus aimed against the industry of the South was retaliated by Nullification, a blow aimed against the industry of the North, and from 1833 to 1860 attacks and compromises were made. But, at the time of the election of Mr. Lincoln, it was not possible to compose the differences any more. To the slaveholders the vote that had been given in 1856 to Mr. Fremont was the sound of a death-knell. It was plain that power was slipping forever away from the hands that had hitherto held it. In their judgment, the choice lay between the destruction of slavery and the destruction of the Union.

Secession, or sepa-
ration, adopted by
the South as a rem-
edy.

From being the chiefs of a political party, the leaders of the South had become, by insensible degrees, conspirators against the republic. They resolved to attempt the perpetuation of slavery by separating from the North. History shows how much easier it is to deceive than to undeceive mankind; yet not without difficulty did they persuade their

people to take that fatal step, assuring them that the Democracy of the North would, as heretofore, be their ally, and that secession, so far from occasioning war, would be peaceably accomplished. They knew that if that step were once taken, a military enthusiasm would arise which would justify any thing, and accordingly so it proved. The South was brought to the belief that she was right in her revolt, the conspiracy became an armed insurrection, warlike preparations of all kinds were openly carried on, forts, custom-houses, post-offices, navy yards were seized, mints were plundered, the Mississippi was blockaded, and the few who had misgivings as to what was taking place were awed into muteness.

For us who are contemporaries of this struggle, and who have witnessed the carnage, it becomes a solemn duty to raise up a voice to posterity.

The North resists, and a military conflict thus arises from natural causes.

The conditions that brought on this conflict exist in other directions, and will in due time exert their deleterious power. Though in one sense slavery was an ephemeral incident, and abolition an ephemeral instinct of our national life, they will have future equivalents under other forms. Varied climate and opposing inter-

ests will tend to renew these contests hereafter. If this has been the issue between the North Atlantic and the Gulf States, what may not be expected from the rivalries of the dwellers in the Great Basin, those of the Pacific slope, those of the Columbian Northwest—the Germany of America? The imperial republic shortly to be made manifest has a Persia, an India, a Palestine, a Tartary of its own. To bind together so many diverse people; to co-ordinate their conflicting rights; to concentrate into one nation men who, though all of American birth, are in one place representatives of the fair European, in another of the turbaned Asiatic, in another of the dusky African, will

Such conflicts will recur.

demand a statesmanship that recognizes as its animating principle justice to all. On that alone can the vast structure of the future republic solidly stand.

Contemplating such various and colossal interests, each of which must be satisfied, we can not fail to remark how transitory all constitutional forms are liable to be, except in so far as they are pervaded by that immortal principle. While we view with veneration the political work of our forefathers, it is well for us to profit by their example. Their first attempt—the Confederation—was, in their own estimation, an acknowledged failure; their second attempt—the Constitution—we have outgrown. Wherever it compromised justice for the sake of expediency, it has proved to be an insufficient guide. A great nation must recognize principle, and not form, as its rule of life; as it gathers knowledge, it must not hesitate to modify its written Constitution according to its improving light.

Nature will dominate over man, and will constrain his actions. We need not flatter ourselves that we are to be any exception. The laws of the world are unswerving, unvarying in their operation. There is nothing privileged in the universe. It was such considerations as these that led Mr. Webster to declare in the Senate in 1850 that there is a law superior to those of the republic, a law settling things forever with a strength beyond all terms of human enactment—the law of Nature. “I would not take pains uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of Nature, nor to re-enact the will of God.” Impressed with the events of the eight following years (1858), Mr. Seward, referring to the threatening antagonism of the times, declared, “Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think it accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case

They illustrate the
dominion of Na-
ture over man.
Opinions of Mr.
Webster and Mr.
Seward.

altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces."

Then must we submit ourselves unresistingly to the tyranny of Nature, and accept things as they come with stoical indifference, or Mohammedan resignation? Shall we give up this Union because we see that it is threatened in all directions with dangers? Has not science taught us that we may deliver ourselves from such evils, and increase at once our happiness and power by a right interpretation of Nature—by availing ourselves of the unvarying operation of those laws which we can not directly resist? Opposing conditions we may reconcile; conflicts that are irrepressible we may manage; disasters we may avert, or even turn into blessings.

Possibility of escaping from the consequences of such natural influences.

How numerous are the historical incidents to which we might refer in proof of our capability of delivering ourselves from the action of natural laws, though we can not modify their character nor arrest their operation. No portion of the annals of humanity is more melancholy than the records of great famines and pestilences. A famine remotely depends on meteorological or other natural causes—droughts, or wet weather, or vegetable disease. When we read that in the famine A.D. 1030, so dire was the distress in Europe that cannibalism was resorted to, and human flesh was cooked and sold, shall we affirm that our forefathers were thus chastened by the ALMIGHTY for their sins, and considering that such inflictions have in modern society for the most part ceased, that HE is more merciful to us? Or shall we not rather concede the invariability of His decrees, and attribute our deliverance to our own industry, which, having developed modern commerce, compensates for the scarcity of one country by the plenty of another?

Escape from famines.

One of the latest events of this kind—it ought to have been the last in modern civilization—the famine in Ireland—instructively illustrates these principles. There were far-seeing men who had earnestly remonstrated against the improvidence of so numerous a community relying for support on the production of only one esculent. The disease that struck the potato left all the cereals untouched. It was not the anger of Heaven kindled against a people who, perhaps, were not more meet for the Destroyer than many others of our sinful race—it was a vicious system of agriculture that permitted the catastrophe—and whose fault was that?

The history of great pestilences teaches us the same lesson with equal emphasis. The plague of Athens raged so frightfully that it absolutely broke the spirit and power of that capital. The plague that was brought to Rome by the army of Verus gave a death-blow to literature and art; the ancient world never recovered from it. Five thousand people died in one day in Rome; it destroyed many of the most illustrious men in the empire. A century later, half the population were carried off by the plague of Gallienus. The Latin language itself was corrupted. In the plague of Justinian, so awful was the devastation that the Greek pronunciation, and even the writing, changed. It was estimated that one third of the population of France died of the plague of 1348.

Do we, in modern times, submit in apathy to such appalling visitations? Even in antiquity there were learned men, far in advance of their age, who anticipated what slow experience has taught us, who serenely encountered a storm of misrepresentation and odium from their ignorant, interested, and superstitious contemporaries. Four hundred years before the birth of Christ, the Greek physician, Hippocrates, insisted that these calamities may

be prevented by rigorous cleanliness, fresh air, light, and other sanitary means; that they are not punishments inflicted by the vengeful gods, but incidents of Nature that men may avoid.

If, then, we can find deliverance from such devastating calamities as famine and pestilence, may we not hope to abate the less obvious but not less fatal influences that are unceasingly act-

Necessity of the study of Nature to the statesman.

ing upon us. We have only to study Nature in order to prevail over her. The progress of knowledge and that of civilization are proceeding with an equal step; but for full fruition we must wait for the noontide of science which is yet to come.

Let us trust, then, that the assertion of the irrepressible nature of our political conflict is not altogether correct. If the opposing conditions originate in physical causes that can be understood, the difficulty may come within the reach of human control. Especially is this to be hoped for in a nation in which personal freedom prevails, for the reasoning power of a community increases with its liberty. American civilization, operating through educational means, rests all its hopes on the development of reason. It trusts itself, without reserve, to what every day is making more and more apparent, that the tendency of knowledge is to produce unison of opinion by bringing men nearer and nearer to the truth. In the domains of science that are most advanced there is no dissent. In mathematics and astronomy there are neither heretics nor rebels. Error, though as intractable as adamant, may be dissipated by light converging upon it, though it can never be annihilated by blows, no matter how powerful they may be.

We may, then, trust for a solution of our future political difficulties in a philosophical study of their causes. A deep insight into this truth

Mr. Calhoun's opinion on that point.

I.—C

led Mr. Calhoun to declare that, in the discussion of our political problems, we must not deal with humanity alone, but must include Nature. And when we reflect on the comparatively isolated position of the republic, having no conterminous political rival, and in that respect differing widely from European powers, which are unceasingly pressing on each other, we may perceive that statesmanship here must necessarily assume a simple and yet a higher form, since it must deal more with Nature and less with humanity. In Europe statesmanship must tend to assume an empirical, in America a scientific character.

We must admit that the former homogeneous condition of our nation is disturbed; that influences have been in operation which have decomposed us into at least two separate people; and that this process of segmentation will be repeated. In vain shall we seek to recombine or to produce homogeneousness again. All efforts in that direction would be only time and labor wasted. We are constrained to accept this as an accomplished fact, and seek to produce concord out of the antagonism. In the social as in a physical machine, wheels that are engaged with one another may run with an opposing motion to their common point of contact, and yet agree in producing a harmonious result.

To retard the future tendency to race-variety, or, if that be impossible, to bring into unison race-diversities, such is the problem for the American statesman to solve. Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural address, forcibly pointed out the stern necessity of our position. "We can not separate, we can not remove our respective sections from each other. We can not build an impassable wall between them. A husband and a wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the differ-

Co-ordination of
climate-changed
Americans.

Absolute necessity
of finding means
for such co-ordina-
tion.

ent parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties better than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced among aliens than laws among friends? Suppose you do go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain to either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you."

In the following pages I shall endeavor to elucidate the principles here set forth; to show how, in the face of a necessity for union, race-diversity has arisen, and endeavor to identify the influences that have produced this result. In the solution of political problems we must handle our species in masses, comparing one generation with another, and determining their mental differences. I consider American history as divisible into arbitrary periods, each answering to one generation. The three groups, occurring between 1775 and 1865 offer very striking contrasts when compared together. The first was engaged in forming and developing the idea of Unionism. During the second, differentiation, or a partition into political segments, was taking effect. The third was engaged in a conflict. Such divisions, it must, however, be understood, are only for convenience. Time does not measure the length of life, either personal or national. We live, on different occasions, at very different rates of speed. The habits of men are greatly affected by those rates. In times of stagnation we look to the past; in times of activity to the future. Happiness, both of the individual and of the community, increases with the intensity of life.

General principles
of this book.

Nature and man are the elements with which the historian has to deal.

I shall, therefore, commence with a brief description of the physical peculiarities of the United States, deducing the necessity of national unity.

Manner in which they are attempted to be carried out.

A study of the past teaches us to interpret correctly the present. The influences of climate and topographical conditions are strikingly manifested in the past history of the North American continent. To that history I shall therefore turn, with a view of illustrating the causes of the increasing tendency to a production of race-varieties which has lain at the basis of our disastrous disputes and conflicts. Those causes have been in operation through all time—long before a human being was submitted to their influence; and what they have done in the last century or two is no more than a continuation of what they accomplished in countless preceding ages. When once we have learned the surprising results to which they have given birth in old times, we shall be prepared to appreciate the impression they are making upon us now. In the hand of Nature, man is like clay in the hand of the potter.

Every man, and, indeed, every society of men, is, as it were, a living mirror reflecting surrounding nature from its own point of view, and representing the influences of every thing to which it is exposed. Hence any living being, thoroughly studied, could reveal not only its own history, but the past history of the whole world.

Peculiarities once impressed on plastic humanity are not instantaneously abolished, though the circumstances of life may change. The inevitable modification that must at last take place is only accomplished by degrees. Hence the race-peculiarities of the first settlers, as well as of the present immigrants of the United States, are an his-

torical element. Believing that like causes will always produce on the human constitution like effects, I shall, without hesitation, refer to what has taken place in corresponding climate-zones elsewhere on the earth as illustrations of what may be expected here. To scientific history foreknowledge is not impossible.

But to those natural causes of disturbance must be added certain artificial or incidental ones, arising from the circumstances of our national life. Among them is especially to be mentioned the institution of slavery. A study of these prepares the way for understanding the conflict in which we have been engaged.

In the history of that conflict I shall write in no partisan strain, endeavoring as earnestly as I can to ascertain the truth, and weigh the facts with impartiality, impassively relating how, after many sacrifices, victory was vouchsafed to the free and loyal North, and how, after a struggle of transcendent energy, the South had to accept a lost cause. I shall constantly endeavor to turn my readers' thoughts to the influence exerted by Nature on the constitution and actions of man. In a general manner that influence had long been recognized, but I am persuaded that it plays a far more important part than is commonly supposed. Estimating rightly these things, we are led to entertain more philosophical, more enlarged, more enlightened, and, in truth, more benevolent views of each other's proceedings. Estrangements subside when men mutually begin to inquire into the philosophical causes of each other's obliquities; when they comprehend that there overrides so many of their apparently voluntary actions, a necessary, an unavoidable constraint. The springs of history are not, as was for a long time imagined, the machinations of statesmen or the ambition of kings. They are to be found in the silent influences of Nature. The philosopher will often detect the true causes

of great political and social convulsions, of sectional hatreds and national attachments, in the shining of the sun and in the falling of rains.

The points which therefore present themselves for consideration in this volume are,

Section

I. Physical characteristics of North America; the topography and meteorology of the republic.

II. The character of the colonial and subsequent population.

III. The tendency to antagonism impressed upon that population by climate and other causes.

IV. The gradual development of two geographical parties, the North and the South.

V. Their struggles for supremacy in the Union.

VI. The rupture between them.

SECTION I.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHY AND METEOROLOGY OF THE REPUBLIC.

Description of North America, more particularly of the Mississippi Valley, and the Atlantic and Pacific Regions, showing that from topographical construction, the distribution of rain, the direction of the winds, differences of heat and cold, etc., there are great diversities in the natural aspect of different portions of the republic, a varied productive capacity, and that important modifications in constitution and character are impressed on the inhabitants.

THE topographical construction of North America fits it to be the political home of one people—
The rivers of North America tend to establish political unity. one nation. Its rivers show by their course that this continent is concave toward the sky; Europe and Asia, on the contrary, are convex. Their rivers flow away in every direction from a central elevation; ours seek a central depression. It necessarily follows that their populations tend to diffusion, and along every great system of streams distinct nations exist. With us there is a tendency to intercommunication, to concentration, to union. It is not a poetical metaphor, but an historical fact, that they have derived the ideas that have served as a guide to their life from the sky; ours, it may be unfortunately, but not the less irresistibly, tend toward the earth. They have been under the influence of religious sentiment; we shall be controlled by industrial pursuits. In Europe, spiritual aspirations predominate; in America, physical. Each follows a predes-



REGIONAL DIVISIONS AND CLIMATE LINES OF THE UNITED STATES.

tinued course, determined by the configuration and relations of the continent on which Providence has cast its lot.

That portion of the continent known as the United States consists, for the most part, of a vast valley formed by three inclining planes.

Three planes form the Mississippi Valley.

The first plane gently slopes from the Rocky Mountains on the west until it reaches the bed of the Mississippi. The second descends from the Appalachians in the east, and intersects the first along the line of that great river, the two conjointly forming the sides of the Mississippi Valley. This valley is shut in by the third great plane descending from the north. In the crevice of intersection between the first and third planes flows the majestic Missouri; in the crevice of intersection between the third and the second flows the Ohio.

The first plane bears on its surface the Red River and Arkansas, with their vast systems of subordinate streams. On the second are the Tennessee and Cumberland, with their affiliated waters. Along the third descends the Mississippi itself, flowing gently to the south, and, receiving in succession all the others, the gigantic resulting trunk discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico. The three planes are not of equal age; that inclining from the north is the oldest, that from the Appalachians to the Mississippi the next, that from the Rocky Mountains the most recent.

The waters descending those planes.

The Mississippi Valley is equal in surface to all Europe except Russia, Norway, and Sweden. It has no topographical obstructions. It contains immense navigable rivers, and is connected with vast inland seas. Three gateways open from it to the outer world.

The gateways opening from the valley.

1st. The Mississippi itself, leading to the West India seas in the south. 2d. The St. Lawrence, leading to the Atlantic on the east, and having lake expansions extending to the very heart of the valley,

their shore-line being six thousand miles, and the shore-line of the St. Lawrence three thousand more. On the south of the St. Lawrence there is a postern, New York. 3d. The western gateway is through the south pass of the Rocky Mountains, toward the Pacific. The rivers have a navigable shore-line equal to that of the Atlantic Ocean.

Such is the Mississippi Valley. No foreign intruder can ever disturb the inaccessible security of its inhabitants. Its geographical, perhaps also its future political centre, is marked out by the confluence of its three chief streams—the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio.

Toward the Atlantic Ocean on the east, and the Pacific on the west, this noble valley is bordered by very important territories.

On the east there descends from the Alleghanies the Atlantic border, a slope which does not terminate at the shore, but continues under the Atlantic Ocean. Off the coast of New Jersey it inclines about one foot in seven hundred, extending seaward eighty miles. At that distance there is a sudden dip, at a steep angle, constituting a profound abyss, the proper trough of the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic border turns the north and south flanks of the Alleghany ridge, in the latter direction gradually merging in the Mississippi Valley. Its rivers are, for the most part, short and rapid. Its mountain ridges are not high enough to give contrasts of climate on their opposite sides; both are equally watered and wooded; nor have they influence enough to disturb the general climate, or to impress any marked effect on the quantity of rain. This border is memorable in American history as containing the original states, and as being the theatre of the events of the Revolutionary War.

Beyond the Mississippi Valley on the west there are lofty plateaus and arid basins not inferior to those of Asia itself; there are interminable saline plains, with a surface like that of the Caspian territory—regions having no exterior drainage to the sea. The chief topographical feature may be described as a subordinate valley, running nearly parallel to that of the Mississippi, and known as the Great Basin. It is included between the Rocky Mountains on one side and the Sierra Nevada on the other. It is a valley of high elevation, being 4000 or 5000 feet above that of the Mississippi—a gallery in that grand theatre. The Salt Lake at its northeast has already attained singular political significance. It is in a direct line between the South Pass in the mountains and San Francisco, the chief harbor of the Pacific. The Mormons, an enterprising community, daily growing in wealth and power, but devoted to a base superstition, and practicing the Asiatic custom of polygamy, have made this basin their abode.

North and south of the Mormon country there are no transverse mountains, and hence it may be said that that elevated valley is a belt of basins and saline lakes. The climate is Asiatic. It is marked by an absence of moisture when rain is not falling. Often for days together there is a difference of twenty degrees between the dry and the wet bulb thermometer. It is affirmed that in the more southerly portion, when the temperature is 95°, sensible perspiration is rarely experienced even during the most violent exercise; and in the desert there is no languor or oppressiveness, though the heat is sometimes 120°. Owing to this singular dryness buffalo-meat does not putrefy, and the grasses cure on the ground as they stand into hay without losing their nutritive portions. For the same reason the soil abounds in alkaline salts, which, arising from the weathering or de-

Structure of the
great basin of the
West.

Asiatic features of
the Pacific region.

composition of the rocks, is not washed or lixiviated away. The cactus and artemisia—plants that delight in dryness—give to the landscape an aspect of desolate sterility. The mountain range toward the coast has sufficient elevation to shut out one third—the lower portion—of the atmosphere, repelling the sea-climate of the Pacific, and producing over a long zone a frightful desert, or wearisome sandy plains like those of Central Asia.

The thermometer in these regions shows an extensive diurnal range of temperature; at midday it may be 80° , and at sunrise 24° , the pellucid and cloudless atmosphere offering but little obstruction to the absorption and radiation of heat. In the Atlantic regions of the United States the surface configuration exerts scarcely any perceptible influence; in the Pacific regions it is very different. The mountain elevations control the meteorology, and determine the aspect of the landscape.

Beyond the snowy range of the Sierra Nevada, another slope, interrupted by the Coast Range, descends to the Pacific Ocean. Its rivers are short and rapid. To this there is but one exception—the Columbia—of which the head waters are in the Rocky chain, and which forces its way through the Cascade Ridge into the Pacific Ocean.

The Columbia basin may be considered as a continuation of that of Utah. There is a succession of these depressions from Fort Colville to the latitude of the southern part of the Californian peninsula. The gorge in the Cascades, through which the river delivers its drainage from a surface of 300,000 square miles, is marked by a succession of terraces, indicating the subsidence of what was once a vast inland sea. The interior rocky table-lands are prairies covered with rich grasses, the valley streams being fringed with cotton-wood, alder, and willow. As the elevation approaches 2500 feet, the mountains as-

Physical character
of the Columbia
basin.

sume a clothing of timber. The country, as far north as 58° , is the American counterpart of Germany. Vancouver's Island, on the coast, resembles the British Islands in its meteorology; it has cool summers, warm winters, and a moist climate. The descent through British and Russian America toward the Arctic Sea is an American Siberia. The Cascade Range is full of picturesque and sublime scenery. It towers above the Rocky Mountains, its culminating peaks rivaling in grandeur the most celebrated mountains in the world. Mount Hood, covered with its dense firs, its pyramid crest passing into the region of eternal snow, surpasses Mont Blanc in altitude by more than 2000 feet. Though the general level of this basin is so high, being in that respect like Utah, the climate is very mild, in the open lands the winter snows rarely lasting more than a week. From the beginning of December to the beginning of March, the chinook wind, intermittently blowing from the southwest, and as warm as the south wind of the Atlantic in May, clears off the snow. It is a true sirocco, covering the sky with brown and fiery-looking clouds.

In the following pages I shall, for the sake of convenience, consider the United States as geographically divided into two regions. A line running north and south along the eastern edge of the great interior plains separates the whole country into two natural divisions, contrasting strikingly with each other in their physical aspect and meteorology. And since the meridian of 100° W. coincides sufficiently with that line, I shall regard it as the separating limit, and speak of all that lies to the east of it as the Atlantic region of the United States, and all to the west as the Pacific region.

Geographical division of the republic into two regions.

The ATLANTIC REGION, therefore, includes the Missis-

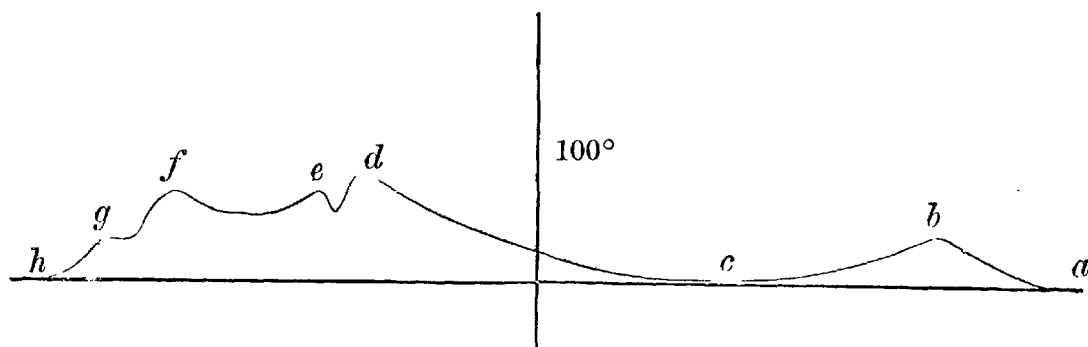
issippi Valley and the old states. It has been the theatre of the recent civil war.

The PACIFIC REGION includes the great plains of the interior, the elevated basins, the culminating mountain ranges, and the newly-settled states of the Western coast.

A traveler pursuing his way across the continent on the fortieth parallel of north latitude would ascend the Atlantic border through New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania, and reach the summit of the Alleghany Ridge. He would descend in succession through Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, to the bottom of the Mississippi Valley. He would now climb through Missouri, and, traveling along the dividing line between Kansas and Nebraska, would attain, in the middle of Colorado, the heights of the Rocky Mountains. Descending their western flank, he would pass in Utah through the great basin, that valley of elevation or gallery in which is situated the Mormon Lake. Another ascent through Nevada would carry him to the heights of the Sierra of that name; and now, finally descending, if he directed his course a little to the south, he would reach the Pacific Ocean at the city of San Francisco.

He would successively pass through a wooded strand, the noble forests of which are now fast disappearing under the axe—a strand of treeless prairies—an arid, sandy district, the soil saline and sterile—an enormous belt of elevated land without an equivalent in Europe, its eastern aspect a forbidding desert, its western Asiatic, prefiguring the continent toward which it looks. Down the rapid incline to the Pacific Ocean he would find the moist and genial atmosphere of Ireland and Spain—a succession of zones offering all the contrasts of Nature, and des-

tined in future ages to be filled with every variety of modified men.



Section across the United States, latitude 40° N.

A section of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific exhibits clearly these topographical features: *a* is the Atlantic Ocean; *b*, the Alleghany Ridge; *c*, the Mississippi River; from *b* to *d*, the Mississippi Valley; *d*, the Rocky Mountains; *e*, *f*, the great elevated basin; *f*, the Sierra Nevada; *g*, the Coast Mountains; *h*, the Pacific Ocean.

It must, however, be understood that such a section presents the facts in an exaggerated manner as respects the relative height of the mountain ranges. Thus the Rocky Mountain region, instead of offering an abrupt and precipitous aspect in such bold proportions to the surface on which it rests, is more correctly a broad and gentle swell of the surface, with a base of a thousand miles, its eastern slope continuing for six hundred miles, its western four or five hundred, the inclination being on an average ten feet to a mile. The passes on the summit have a height of from six to ten thousand feet, the ridges carrying the elevation more abruptly to twelve or fourteen thousand. Fremont describes the ascent through the South Pass as not unlike that of the hill of the Capitol at Washington. Grand as these mountain regions may be to the eye of an artist, they are to the geologist nothing more than corrugated flexures of the general surface. In a section made across

Actual topographical configuration of the continent.

the continent on a scale of six inches, they would be altogether imperceptible. A correct estimate of their actual proportions is essentially necessary to a just conception of the manner in which they have been formed.

Along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Florida, the annual quantity of rain decreases as the place of observation is more southerly. In 1859 there fell in Maine 49 inches of rain; in Florida, 41; in Virginia, which is intermediate, 43. But the Gulf States, Mississippi and Alabama, owing to their proximity to the West India Sea, were still more abundantly supplied: in the former there fell 53 inches, in the latter 59. These copious rains exert no little influence on the production of the cotton crop. In that year, of the second tier of Atlantic States, Tennessee had 45 inches; Kentucky, 46; Ohio, 44. Passing from Ohio westwardly, there was a rapid diminution. Indiana had only 36; Illinois, 32; Iowa, 33; Nebraska, 21. In a general manner it may therefore be affirmed that the quantity of rain diminishes as the Rocky Mountains are approached, and that in Nebraska not half as much falls as in the Atlantic States.

These estimates include the water descending as snow. If not directly measured by melting, its quantity is computed upon the admission that ten inches of snow will yield one of water. I have employed the meteorological observations made under the direction of the United States Patent Office and the Smithsonian Institution, and published by Congress. I am also much indebted to Blodget's Climatology of the United States.

The annual rain maps of the United States show three places of maximum of the first order. In these the fall is 63 inches for the year. Two of them are areas of about one hundred miles

Of the distribution
of rain in North
America.

Districts of maxi-
mum and mini-
mum rain.

in diameter, the centre of one being Lake Okeechobee, in Florida; that of the second being about fifty miles north of Mobile; the third is a long strip upon the Pacific coast, stretching from Cape Orford northward beyond Vancouver's Island. The point of minimum is at the junction of the great Colorado and Gila Rivers, where the yearly depth is only 3 inches; the general average in the basin of the interior is about 10 inches, and on the plains of the interior, through almost twenty degrees of latitude, it is about 15.

Leaving out of consideration minor and limited variations, it may be said that in all regions east of the Rocky Mountains, the distinguishing feature is the symmetry and uniformity in the amount of rain over large areas. It has rarely any relation to the configuration of the country. On the Atlantic border, and in the Central States, it would yield a surface stratum about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. The district of periodic rains is west of the Rocky Mountain plateau, except in New Mexico, whence it extends eastward into Texas, and there the autumnal rainy season is well marked. The uniformity and symmetry above referred to shows that the supply comes from remote sources, and that the causes inducing such a constant precipitation are not to be found in the configuration of the country. In a rude manner, the shadings of the rain maps correspond to the isothermal lines, indicating that there is a relation between the quantity of water precipitated and the temperature.

The great American valley is drained, for the most part, by the Mississippi and its tributaries. Of these the Missouri, coming through Dacotah, brings down about one seventh of the water furnished to its territory by the rains. The Ohio brings down one fourth of its supply; the Mississippi itself also

Uniformity in the downfall of rain in the Atlantic region.

Drainage of the Mississippi Valley.

one fourth. The average annual discharge into the Gulf of Mexico, as shown by Humphreys and Abbot, in their Report on the Mississippi River, based upon surveys and investigations made under acts of Congress, is nearly twenty trillions of cubic feet (19,500,000,000,000). The solid material annually brought down by the river, either in suspension as silt, or pushed on bodily before it, is equal to a mass one square mile in surface and 268 feet thick. This represents the wear and tear of the valley, or its loss of material by denuding causes.

The Missouri, descending from its sources in the Rocky Mountains, falls about 6800 feet, that is, about 28 inches per mile. The Mississippi, coming down the face of the lower old northern incline, has a less fall to make on the passage from its head waters in Minnesota to its junction with the Missouri, the fall per mile being about $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From that point to the Gulf of Mexico it follows a more gentle incline in the trough of the valley, averaging but little more than 5 inches per mile.

In the earlier parts of its course the Missouri suffers so much from evaporation that it gains nothing in volume for hundreds of miles below the Yellowstone River, a striking illustration of the difference of climate on the opposite sides of the Oregon basin. The atmospheric dryness is, however, still greater in the basin itself. From the point where the Rocky Mountains and Coast Range merge into one in British America, southward to near the latitude of the city of Mexico, a region extending through seventeen degrees of latitude and ten of longitude, there is an area of deficient rain, drained only by two rivers, the Columbia and the Colorado; and since they receive their volume mostly from the mountains, it may be said that there are 400,000 square miles of American surface sending no rivers to the sea.

Climate differences of abundant moisture and excessive

dryness are thus encountered as we pass from the Atlantic sea-board to the great coast ranges of the West. The number of rainy days in the year diminishes. An impression must inevitably be made on the physical constitution and domestic manners of the bands of population that in future times will live upon those zones. Nor must we overlook the singular condition of the Pacific coast itself. In the Sacramento Valley, rain falls but three or four months in the year; the total depth in California in 1859 was only twenty-one inches; but, passing northward, the quantity increases in a most extraordinary manner. After reaching the bend of the coast at Cape Mendocino, we approach the region of maximum heretofore referred to, the quantity steadily increasing, until, as the Russian authorities report, the depth at Sitka is actually 90 inches in the year.

The arid desert.
Downfall of rain in
the Pacific region.

In the infancy of physical knowledge it was supposed that the winds are the causes of the weather, one wind bringing a clear sky, another clouds and rain. They were imagined to be in some mysterious manner a propulsion of air. Classical mythology feigned that each wind was due to a personified being: thus Zephyrus impelled the west wind by the fanning motion of his silken butterfly wings—or that they escaped from a cave in the land of storms, where King Æolus kept them confined. But winds are not the causes of atmospheric variations—they are the effects. Nor are they produced by propulsion—they originate in aspiration.

The winds of North
America.

Over a large part of British America, and all the United States except the most southerly districts, at a height ranging above seven thousand feet, a west wind is perpetually blowing. It moves in the middle latitudes at a rate of about twenty miles per hour,

The great westerly
wind.

and, there is reason to believe, passes all round the globe. It is not due to local, but rather to astronomical causes. The lower aspect of this zone is the region of cloud formation, and the uniform rains of the Atlantic region of the continent come from this source.

The stratum beneath this westerly zone is for the most part occupied by local and irregular winds and calms. In some places, however, there is a preponderating direction throughout the year. Thus, on the Gulf coast, a sea-breeze prevails. It is especially well marked in Texas. The lines of direction of these inland winds point to the hot and arid desert interior. The heat of the Plains gives rise to a draft from the Gulf up the gentle incline of Texas, a predominating southeasterly current. The surface winds of Texas, therefore, offer a striking example of the mode of establishment of atmospheric currents. They are not propelled from the Gulf of Mexico, but aspired by the north-westerly plains. These winds affect the meteorology of all the cotton states, and, indeed, of the whole Mississippi Valley south of the fortieth parallel.

In like manner, the hot desert, by rarefying the air resting upon it, and establishing an upward movement, draws through the passes of the Sierra Nevada cool winds from the Pacific, thus moderating the climate of those passes to the fervid interior basin. It is affirmed that these winds blow with so much force that the sands they drive before them streak with parallel lines the surfaces of the rocks.

I have already remarked how little the Atlantic region of the United States is affected by topographical configuration. The Alleghany chain makes hardly any impression. But it is altogether different in the Pacific region; its culminating ridges and elevated table-lands control the climate and determine the aspect of nature.

The inferior atmospheric stratum to the height of six or seven thousand feet is, therefore, the domain of irregularity and intermittence. In a general manner, however, all our atmospheric disturbances move from the west to the east. Many of the surface winds depend upon the rains descending from the higher strata of clouds. Some of those rains may be traced two thirds of the distance across the continent, from the Plains to the Atlantic Ocean. But far above this region of apparently fortuitous vicissitudes sweeps the eternal west wind, silently pursuing by night and by day its resistless progress round the world.

The succession of climates through which the Mississippi flows is very striking. The mean yearly temperature of the region of its sources in Minnesota is 40° ; the mean yearly temperature at its mouth is 72° . Between these points the temperature of the successive states past which it flows is as follows: Wisconsin, 45° ; Iowa, 48° ; Illinois, 49° ; Missouri, 55° ; Tennessee, 56° ; Arkansas, 63° ; Mississippi, 63° . That is, the heat increases from 40° to 72° , as the point of observation is more southerly along a line of about twelve hundred miles.

With the climate through which the Mississippi passes, the vegetable product varies. In the upper portion as far as the Hatchee, it is chiefly corn; thence to the Red River, cotton; thence, sugar. There are orange-groves near its mouth.

To the willow, sycamore, locust, are gradually added the cypress, persimmon, and ash; lower down, the bay-tree, the magnolia, the palmetto. The forest regions of North America, when they assume their autumnal splendor, display a magnificence of color altogether unknown in Europe, and add a melancholy glory to the departing year.

Such are the variations of temperature in the north and south direction. They are much less striking if the observations be made from the Atlantic coast westwardly across the eastern half of the continent. Thus New Jersey has a mean yearly temperature of 51° ; Pennsylvania, 51° ; Ohio, 51° ; Indiana, 54° ; Illinois, 49° ; Iowa, 48° , and Nebraska, 47° .

Distribution of heat
east and west.

The distribution of heat is comparatively symmetrical in the old settled states of the East, but it is very different in the West. In the valley of the Colorado the mean heat of summer rises to 90° ; across the mountains, on the coast, it is only 60° . In places but an insignificant distance apart, there are the most violent contrasts. Thus, in the San Joaquin Valley, the mean heat for June, 1852, at 3 P.M., was 108.4° , while at Monterey, on the Pacific, 150 miles distant, the corresponding mean heat was 63.2° , a difference of 45° .

What must be the inevitable result in the Pacific region in the course of a few generations! Climate irresistibly modifies men; and here are the most extraordinary differences in very restricted areas. If climate impressions are at the bottom of the dreadful civil collision between the southern and northern sections of the Atlantic region through which we have so recently passed, what is the future that must be prognosticated for the inhabitants of the Pacific, where such impressions must be much more abrupt and much more profound?

In view of the serious political import of these facts, I make no apology for now entering on a brief digression, necessary for the clear understanding of the points presently to be considered.

Humboldt first directed scientific attention to isothermal lines, or lines of equal heat. There had been a division of the surface of the earth

Of isothermal lines.

delivered down from classical antiquity—an arrangement of zones—the torrid, the temperate, the frigid. Those terms are still usefully employed in their popular significance, but the facts they were supposed to embody have no real occurrence in nature. Correctly speaking, no such zones exist. The heat of places does not correspond to their latitude.

Humboldt therefore proposed to connect together those points on the surface of each hemisphere of the earth of which the mean yearly temperature is the same. He gave to the lines so running from point to point the designation of isothermal lines, or lines of equal heat.

Thus, as an example, Vancouver's Island, Salt Lake City, Santa Fé in New Mexico, Fort Laramie, Council Bluffs, Rock Island, Pittsburg, New Haven, and Nantucket, have all a mean yearly temperature of 50° . A line drawn upon the map, running through these places, and continued through Europe and Asia, through places having the same annual temperature, is therefore known as the isothermal line of 50° . Each particular temperature has thus its own line, or rather lines, for there is one for the northern and one for the southern hemisphere, and indeed often more than one for each.

Inspecting a map on which such lines are drawn, we are forcibly struck with their irregular course. Thus the isothermal of 50° , to which I have alluded, as seen in the map, page 57, commencing at Vancouver's Island, runs down southeastwardly, through more than 15° of latitude, to New Mexico; it then passes almost due north for more than 5° , and strikes across the continent nearly due east to the Atlantic Ocean. The isothermal lines bear, therefore, no relation to the parallels of latitude.

Subsequently this conception of graphically defining the distribution of heat was greatly enlarged; and to maps setting forth the heat for the year, others depicting

it for the successive seasons—spring, summer, autumn, and winter—and, indeed, for the successive months, were added. These maps have become of the utmost importance in all inquiries relating to climate and its effects.

But isothermal maps, valuable as they may be, are still imperfect—imperfect not only on account of the inadequate number of observations on which they rest, but also in another far more important particular. They indicate only the *intensity* of the heat in specified places, but not its *quantity*.

Imperfection of
isothermal maps.

It is requisite to know not merely what is the particular degree at which the thermometer will stand, but the absolute quantity of heat furnished to different places in a given period of time, as a year, a month, a day.

If we consider the case of rain, any obscurity in these remarks will be removed. It is one thing to measure the mechanical force with which the rain has come down, it is another to measure the quantity which in a given time has been received. For heat we have accomplished what is the equivalent of the former—the latter remains to be done.

A few pages hence these facts will be found to possess singular importance. Every plant requires a certain measure of heat for its complete development. An extension of the cultivation of cotton or tobacco, sugarcane or corn, into more northerly regions, depends on the principles here involved, and on the possibility of such extension social and political consequences of the greatest moment depend.

From this digression I now return to the consideration of the climate of the Pacific coast, as manifested by its isothermal lines, directing the reader's attention to the map opposite.

That map at once indicates a most extraordinary dif-

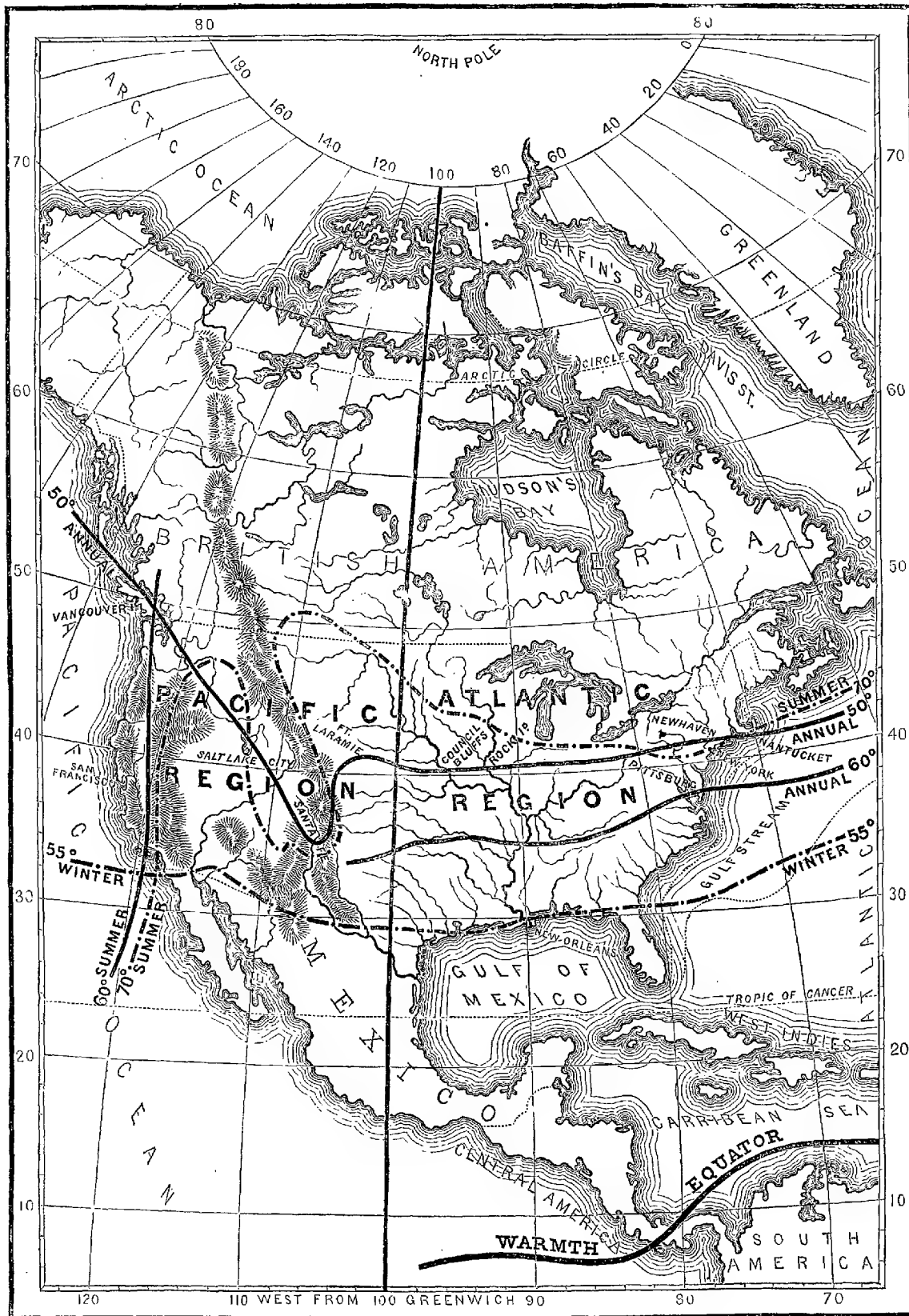


DIAGRAM OF ISOTHERMAL LINES.

Extraordinary distribution of heat in the Pacific region.

ference between the Pacific and Atlantic regions. During the summer season the heat is equally distributed in the former through fifteen hundred miles of latitude; the line of 60° runs parallel to the coast. How different would every thing in the old colonial settlements on the Atlantic have been had no difference existed between St. John's in Newfoundland and St. Augustine in Florida! Yet that is actually the condition of things in the newly-settled states of the West.

Moreover, we perceive that the general course of the isothermals in California and Oregon is more nearly north and south; in the Atlantic States they range west and east. Hence, in the former countries, there is a compression of climates into closely juxtaposed and exceedingly narrow strands. If we desire to prognosticate the political results which must inevitably ensue from such a strange state of things, we must study Peruvian history; for in Peru the same physical conditions occur. The uniformity of summer temperature, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, once existed over the whole North American continent, has now receded to a narrow strip upon the Pacific coast. The winter isothermal line of 55° , beyond which the negro never voluntarily advances, runs to the south end of our Pacific coast, so that, bearing in mind the great waterless portion of the interior basin, which it skirts, it might have been anticipated that African slavery, without political protection, could never exist in the West.

I have not space, nor, indeed, is it necessary, to continue this examination of the distribution of heat in North America. In place of that uniform temperature which zoological and botanical facts assure us once obtained all over the continent, we have now very great and intricate variations. There is the ever-frozen Arctic Ocean at

the North, and the West India Sea, of which the mean annual temperature is 79.6° , at the south; there is the Atlantic coast, with its inert topographical configuration on the east, and the Rocky Mountain region, where vertical altitudes and massive elevation control the seasons and dominate over the forms of life, on the west. It will take many years and the patient toil of many laborious men to map out all the climate-details of so wonderfully modified a continent.

In closing this imperfect description of it, I may be excused if I cast a parting glance over its greater divisions, the Eastern and Southern Atlantic States, the Mississippi Valley, the territory of the Columbia River, the rich mining Pacific countries. So rapid has been the progress of the whole continent in material prosperity and civilization, that, like a garden of Adonis, it has blossomed on one day, and borne its fruit on the next.

For a large portion of the year the Eastern States, even those bordering upon the ocean, are shut up by frost. They have a murky sky, and a desolate landscape of snow. Except the pine-trees and their evergreen kindred, the forests exchange their leaves for glittering and brittle icicles. The oak, birch, swamp-maple, willow, bend beneath their white load. More stunted plants, such as whortleberry bushes and the cranberry vines, are buried out of sight.

How different in the South! When Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, its charming landscapes and perpetual verdure seemed to give truth to the legend that in its dark and leafy everglades was to be found a cleft in a rock, from which gushed a fountain—the Elixir of Life. The River of May was more beautiful than even his native Guadalquivir. There were the palmetto, the cypress, the magnolia filling the air with its perfume. Gray Spanish

Physical aspect
of the Eastern States.

Physical aspect
of the Southern
States.

moss hung down from oak and cedar, mulberry and maple. The darkness of the orange-groves was relieved by jessamines with their golden burden, and the scarlet trumpet-flower. Along the sedgy banks the yellow-crowned heron stalked intent on his nocturnal prey, the oriole hung a pensile nest from his favorite tulip-tree. There were bounding deer and flocks of wild turkeys in the woods; in the turbid streams the muddy and mail-clad alligator, half swimming, half sleeping, dozed in the noon-tide sun. So overpowering are the heats in the South, that there is a midday as well as a midnight silence. Animated nature reposes; nor is it until the warmth declines and evening begins to approach that the multitudinous sounds of insect life recur, or again is heard the melancholy echoing murmur of the Carolina turtle-dove.

The Mississippi River, fed by its vast tributaries, and grandly coursing its way through an alluvial tract often forty or fifty miles in breadth, its spring-flood below the junction of the Ohio rising sometimes to a height of fifty feet, its overflow on the western side covering an area from ten to fifty miles wide, throws into insignificance the far-famed Egyptian Nile. It rudely separates the two great industrial divisions of the United States from each

other; separates them geographically, but binds them together commercially. The

Political importance of the Mississippi.

mining regions of the West, the measureless wealth of which is at present only dimly discerned, can not be developed, and can not socially exist, without the fertile regions of the East. Of all the political facts ascertained during the civil war, none is of more importance than the military value of this river. Whoever is master of the Mississippi is lord of the continent.

With some exceptions in Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, all the continental surface between the Mississippi and the Atlantic is densely timbered, as are likewise

Distribution of
timber, of prairie,
and of desert.

Louisiana, Arkansas, and South Missouri. It is a region of incessant showers. Beyond this, more westwardly, comes the prairie zone, with its luxuriant annual grasses; and still farther, bounded by a line parallel to the timber region, the rains cease. In this rainless tract the buffalo grass yields support to herds of aboriginal cattle. At the South Pass, the outlet to the Pacific Ocean, there is neither rain nor dew. It is computed that in the valley itself there are $1\frac{1}{2}$ fifths of forest, $1\frac{1}{2}$ of prairie, and 2 fifths of desolate plains. Boundless stores of iron and coal are ready to supply motive power to civilization; and where sterility begins, the country is full of gold and silver.

To the inestimable metal wealth of California and its vicinage is added a golden circle from the rim of the Salt Lake Basin to the frozen regions of the North. It ranges through 12° of latitude. It likewise abounds in silver. In years not very distant, this territory of the Columbia River, which possesses 200,000 square miles of grazing land, will be filled with flocks and herds. The magnificent water power of Oregon will manufacture woolen goods for the world. The territory of that state, and its appendages in the British Possessions, present an area equal to the United States east of the Mississippi River. In climate it is the Germany of America. The isothermal lines and deep shadings of the rain maps rise boldly into it. In the well-grassed and well-watered meadows of its eastern division herds of buffalo and horses roam; they hide themselves all winter in the woodlands that skirt the savannas of the Upper Athabasca. All the grains and grasses of Europe here grow in profusion. The American Teuton of the Northwest, a republican and monogamist by nature, as is the corresponding man in Europe, will in future generations have controversies with the American Tartar

The territory of the
Columbia River.

of the Great Sandy Plains, and with the American theocrat and polygamist of the Great Basin.

The Pacific countries, rich in mineral and abounding in agricultural resources, must imitate the industrial art destroyed by the Spaniards in Peru. There the mountain slopes had become gardens, irrigated by gigantic canals and aqueducts; and in strands of climate compressed closely together, an agriculture more varied than any where else in the world was prosecuted. Into the lap of San Francisco will be poured the riches of Asia, and from that port along the great interoceanic railroad will be borne the ever-increasing commerce of the South Sea.

With such a varied and splendid entourage—an imperial cordon of states—nothing can prevent the Mississippi Valley from becoming, in less than three generations, the centre of human power.

The Mississippi
Valley the future
centre of human
power.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE GRADUAL FORMATION OF NORTH AMERICA.

North America has been slowly constructed upon a central mass. During its gradual progress of geographical extension, numberless plants and animals in a well-marked order have appeared upon it and become extinct. From these facts it is manifest that any change in the aspect of nature and climate of a country will modify its inhabitants.

SUCH is a general view of the topography and meteorology of the territory of the United States, a grand theatre of human life. We may now profitably turn to its past history, for it has slowly grown from a geological centre—it has been conquered and won from the sea.

The study of that past history is not only full of scientific interest, but also—what we might not have supposed—of political instruction too.

The gradual growth of North America.

For the facts now to be presented, we are indebted to the various geological surveys instituted by several of the states, to the explorations of individual geologists which no American can read without pride, and to the publications of the United States Coast Survey.

The oldest regions of North America extend from Labrador through Canada in a southwesterly direction parallel to the present St. Lawrence, and on the north side of that river. Gaining the Lakes Huron and Superior, their course changes to the northwest, and continues to the Arctic Ocean. They are crystalline rocks, rent, crumpled, and upturned. Subordinate areas of similar character, but of restricted extent, are elsewhere met with, as in Northern New York, on the south of Lake Superior, and here and there in the West. Neglecting the consideration of these, it may be understood

The oldest regions of the continent.

that the main mass presented two southerly fronts, one looking to what is now the Atlantic, the other to the Pacific Ocean. These rocks offer such sparse and doubtful signs of life, that geologists commonly affirm there was neither plant nor animal upon them, nor any sound save that of the breakers at their base. Gray and grim this primeval germ of the continent lay in silence along the sea.

Around these lifeless, these azoic rocks, strata were deposited in succession, in some places the accumulation submerging perhaps by reason of its weight, in others being raised perhaps by the continuing action of the force that had uplifted the original gray, germinal, and doubly fronted mass. In a lapse of time too prodigious to be appreciated, the whole continent as it now is was separated from the sea, but so slowly that of the surrounding thousands of miles only a few inches were gained in the course of each century.

But this continuous growth of the continent was by no means homogeneous. Limestones, and sandstones, and clay-beds follow one another in varied succession. Such transitions indicate that there were changes occurring in surrounding circumstances. They mark off this history of continental development into epochs. Of such epochs not fewer than forty-six have been already recognized. The progress of science will doubtless add to this number, but the facts with which it is connected will remain unchanged.

For the sake of perspicuity, these epochs have been grouped into more general divisions, appropriately designated ages: these may be characterized either numerically or according to the predominant type of life they present; thus, age of fishes, age of reptiles. For there has been an orderly succession of animated beings; types of life in a long series

Separation of the
land from the sea.

The forty-six
epochs.

The same plan is
continued through-
out eternity.

have disappeared, and have been replaced by others, which in their turn have become extinct. Not that they mark the culmination of a new creative idea abruptly introduced—a sudden and arbitrary thought of God—but, since the beginning of each age is dimly traced in the midst of a preceding, and its end imperceptibly fades away in the midst of a succeeding one, all, taken in the aggregate, indicate that they are the continuous issue of primordial and unchangeable law; that in a necessary succession the aspect of nature has changed, physical events succeeding one another in an unavoidable way, those mutations having impressed their influence on all the forms of life. A portentous fact, on which the philosopher may well ponder—a fact, its consequences considered, as we shall in due time see, of profound interest to the statesman.

I am here speaking of vast lapses of time, which our finite faculties vainly try to grasp. In this irreversible operation of law—this continuous issue of inevitable events—this necessary succession in the aspect of nature—this undeviating persistence of plan, there is something majestic and solemn. The scheme that the Sovereign Creator has ordained goes forward with grand severity in its evolution. His primitive fiat is enough; the machinery once in motion, HE touches it no more. With HIM, law once enacted is ever unchanging. In presence of this irresistible construction of continents and worlds, what is man or his finite measures of time—in that dread presence with whom a day is as a thousand years, a thousand years are only as a day!

Variations of climate and of the aspect of nature in North America have occasioned successions of life. Climate determines the distribution of animals and plants; climate controls the thoughts and actions of man.

I.—E

Grandeur of this
persistence of de-
sign.

In the brief sketch I am about to give of the development of the American continent, I have not space for the consideration of the numerous epochs referred to, and must therefore limit myself to the greater groups—the ages. But, in truth, they furnish a sufficient opportunity for placing in a clear light the points it is desirable to bring into strong relief.

Let us now look rapidly at the six ages, ascertaining in each instance how much the continent had grown, and especially what were the characteristics of its animals and plants. In the final result it will appear that the development was mainly to the southwest, and that there was an increasing elevation in the grade of living things.

Of the First Age.

At its close there had been added to the original continent-nucleus deposits now recognized in
Territory, plants,
and animals of the
first age. Minnesota, Wisconsin, Upper Michigan, New York. A long and narrow peninsula lay somewhat to the east of the Appalachian region, acting as a partial breakwater to the Atlantic.

The ripple marks, wave lines, and traces of ebbing and flowing tides show that these deposits were made in shallow waters, on the north and also on the east. The thickness of the strata in the Appalachian region proves that already subsidence was occurring. There is reason to believe, judging from the habits of the animals that formed the limestones, that this subsidence did not exceed half an inch a year, and yet it attained, during the Trenton period, nearly 6000 feet. At the close of the Niagara period there had been deposited along the Appalachians a thickness of 12,660 feet of rock.

It is not to be understood, however, that these deposits only formed a mere fringe to the growing continent. They reached out, also, far under the sea—an accumula-

tion of sands, clays, limestones. The dominant type of animal life was molluscos, and the climate was uniform through the whole range from north to south.

Of the Second Age.

The land expansion that had commenced in the former age was continued in this; its progress is well marked in Ohio, Wisconsin, and also both east and west. There were no large rivers. The strata are all marine, none of fresh-water origin. There are marks of vast oscillations on the continental level, resulting, in the Appalachian region, in deposits of shales and sandstones of not less than fifteen thousand feet in thickness, as the accumulating land slowly went down.

A great advance had taken place in organic nature.

Territory, plants,
and animals of the
second age.

Land plants and fishes had been introduced. Of the former the first-comers were of two groups, one exhibiting the lowest of flowering, and the other the highest of flowerless plants. There were no grasses. Of fishes there were also two groups, one being sharks, the other possessing features of a reptilian character.

Of the Third Age.

Territory, plants,
and animals of the
third age.

The general direction of the land-advance is recognized in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, portions of the Rocky Mountain slopes, Utah, North California, and Texas. The western development had led to the production of an interior sea, the American Mediterranean, an arm of the Gulf of Mexico.

From the rank vegetation of the forests, jungles, and marshes, the great Appalachian coal-field, which now presents a workable area of sixty thousand square miles, was formed. The Illinois and Missouri field is estimated

to have the same extent. Simultaneously, in the far north and northeast, similar events were occurring, giving rise to the Arctic coal-field and that of New Brunswick. The maximum thickness of the strata deposited during this age is estimated at nearly fifteen thousand feet. In the Appalachian region there had accumulated at the close of this age—counting in the preceding deposits—a thickness of nearly seven miles.

During the coal period, all the parts of the United States from Canada to Alabama, and from Western Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas to Eastern Virginia, were above the water. It was not until its close that the Alleghanies were forced up; and as yet there were no Rocky Mountains. The Gulf of Mexico extended to the mouth of the Ohio; the coral-building workers had not yet made Florida. These portions were never submerged again, but, as they kept sinking by their own weight, fresh surface-material was added, the accumulations being, therefore, by superposition.

The coal area of Great Britain is estimated at 12,000 square miles; that of the United States at 130,000; that of the British Provinces in America at 18,000. The beds themselves consist of alternations of layers of coal, shales, sandstones, limestones, etc. It is commonly estimated that there are fifty feet of rock to one of coal. In some celebrated instances the true coal has very great thickness. The Pittsburg vein was 8 feet thick; the mammoth vein at Wilkesbarre $29\frac{1}{2}$. In Nova Scotia there was one $22\frac{1}{4}$ feet, and another $37\frac{1}{2}$. In the Sydney coal-field seventy-six fossil coal forests occur in superposition, the total thickness of the coal-bearing strata in Nova Scotia being 14,570 feet.

As is well known, all coal originated from the decay of plants beneath water. It is estimated that 100 lbs. of wood will yield 16 lbs. of anthracite, or 25 lbs. of bitu-

minous coal. From the necessary reduction of volume arising through compression, it is computed that a thickness of eight feet of vegetable material will make one foot of bituminous coal, and that twelve feet are required to make one of anthracite. In the Ohio coal-field there are fossil trunks of trees sixty feet long and three feet in diameter.

A direct relation exists between the quantity of vegetable matter which can be produced in a given period of time and the quantity of light that produces it. It is not possible that such enormous quantities of coal as are here considered could be formed except in very long periods of time.

The plants thus decaying under water, and furnishing a succession of coal-seams as the land slowly subsided, were land plants. They constituted a forest vegetation. There was a sameness among them over areas of great extent. The same genera occur in Europe and America, and many of the species are identical. *Sigillaria*, and *Lepidodendra*, and tree-ferns abound, but no palms or other endogens. The animals were all of low types. In the prodigious luxuriance of those grotesque forests there was not a bird.

As to the climate—in the Arctic Ocean, as far north as Melville Straits, the winter temperature did not fall below 66°. Mackenzie's River flowed through verdant banks into a sea in which coral reefs—not icebergs, as in modern times—were forming. Within ten degrees of the pole there was the same mean temperature as in the regions of Texas. A moist, a heavy, a stifling, perhaps a comparatively stagnant atmosphere rested upon what in future times was to be British America and the United States. So great was the volume of carbonic acid in the air that no hot-blooded animal could live. The living beings were all necessarily slow-respiring and cold-blood-

ed. In the winterless years of that age the growth of plants continuously went on. There were no periods of torpor in the forests; no trees could have annual rings.

Of the Fourth Age.

At the close of this age, large tracts had been added to the South and West. The coast-line passed from the southeast of New York city across New Jersey to the Delaware River, which emptied into the Atlantic at Trenton. The region of Chesapeake Bay was under the sea. The sea-line ran within about sixty miles inland of the present coast, the distance increasing to one hundred in Georgia, and then, turning westwardly, it kept about two hundred miles from the Gulf shore in Alabama. The Alleghanies were about one hundred feet lower than at present. From Alabama the line made its way northward to the mouth of the Ohio, receiving that river. The Gulf of Mexico, therefore, still protruded a great arm into the interior of the continent—a Mediterranean as it has been called—though slowly diminishing in size. The western shore of that gulf came up from Texas, making a deep bay toward the region of the Rocky Mountains; those mountains themselves did not yet exist. It extended perhaps as far as the sources of the Yellowstone and Missouri. These rivers are among the later-formed American streams. They can not compete in age with the primæval St. Lawrence and Hudson. The Pacific shore-line ran in a general manner parallel to the present coast, but at a distance of several hundred miles interiorly.

The charts of the Coast Survey give reason to suppose that in the earlier periods of this age the coast-line of New York and New Jersey extended far out to sea. They show submerged outlines of the Bay of New York and of the course of the Hudson River.

Territory, plants,
and animals of the
fourth age.

As respects the life of this age, it was ushered in by a total extinction of all pre-existing forms. The characteristic features of its animals are completely reptilian, due, undoubtedly, to the constitution of the atmosphere.

Predominance of
reptile life.

There were reptiles in the sea, reptiles in the rivers, reptiles on the land, reptiles in the air. In the midst of these base animal forms, as if struggling to gain existence, are inferior species of mammals and birds.

Of plants, it is to be remarked that the characteristic genera of the preceding—the Coal Age—having altogether disappeared, were replaced by cycads, and many new forms of conifers and ferns. Toward the close of the age, the first of the modern groups of angiosperms, such as the oak, maple, willow, dogwood, and fruit-trees, are observed. With these occur the first of the palms. The general aspect of the Botany of the age was this: the ferns had long previously passed their culmination, and were dying out; the conifers were in their dawn; the cycads attained their climax. It has, therefore, been sometimes characterized as the Reptilian and Cycadean Age.

For a long portion of it the climate was apparently uniform from the Arctic Ocean to the Mexican Gulf. There does not appear to have been any thing answering to climate zones. Judging from the facts presented by the coral reefs, the lowest temperature was 68°. Toward the close of the age there are indications of true climates, the evidence being a difference in the species of the northern and southern parts of the United States. Previously to this event there could have been nothing answering to the great ocean currents or to the trade winds. The appearance of climates marks out a grand physical epoch in the history of the globe.

Of the Fifth Age.

In this age a well-marked extension of the continent continued along the Atlantic and the Gulf. Territory, plants, and animals of the fifth age. There was still a narrow sea-arm running to St. Louis, but it was gradually filling up. Florida was constructed by the industrious coral-workers. The great western mountain chains were upheaved. They are higher than all their predecessors because of the greater resistance of the thicker consolidated crust of the earth. By degrees, contemporaneous with the growth of the peninsula of Florida, the mouth of the Mississippi was carried from the mouth of the Ohio to near the present shore-line of the Gulf of Mexico. For, though General Humphreys, in his Report to the War Department (1861), shows that the bed of the river is not formed by recent deposits from its waters, but is in a stratum of blue clay, belonging to the eocene or to the cretaceous formations—from this, and also from the form of the cross section of the river, inferring that the alleged arm of the Gulf of Mexico had no existence, the facts connected with the general geological development of the continent seem to admit of no other interpretation. The upward movement in the trans-Mississippi region along the Rocky chain amounted to nearly 7000 feet. This greatly developed the Missouri, heretofore an insignificant stream, and extended its vast system of affiliated waters, such as the Yellowstone, the Platte, and the Kansas Rivers. While on the Gulf border the land-rise was not more than 100 feet, at the mouth of the Ohio it was about 275; at Pike's Peak, 4500; at the Big-horn Mountains more than 6000 feet; in the Wind River chain, 6800. More westwardly, toward the Pacific, the elevation gradually declined.

This rise of the land, previously spoken of as a corrugation of the continent, must not, however, be regarded

as a sudden movement, attended by great catastrophes. Every thing indicates that it was exceedingly gradual. North America was not the only scene of such a grand elevation. During the same age the Pyrenees, Alps, and Apennines emerged in Europe, the Himalayas in Asia, the Andes in South America.

At the close of this age our continent may be considered as having completed its extension in the easterly, westerly, and southerly directions, and had gained substantially its present aspect. Its river system had also reached its present development—a remark likewise applying to other continents. Africa had gained its Nile, Asia its Indus and Ganges, South America its Amazon.

But toward the north there is well-marked evidence that in the closing period, the post tertiary, a depression took place. Along lower New England it amounted to 30 feet; it was somewhat more in Connecticut; as much as 170 in Massachusetts; from that to 200 in New Hampshire; and on the north shore of Lake Superior, 330 feet. Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence, far inland, became arms of the sea. This depression was subsequently followed by elevation, and those regions brought to their present level. Geologists have surmised that this transfer of oscillation from the south to the north was due to the stiffening and strengthening of the crust in the former by the accumulating masses, the latter becoming the weaker area, and less able to resist the pressures bearing upon it.

The reptilian type, that had so strikingly marked the preceding age, now passed into insignificance. The mammals, heretofore struggling to emerge, became predominant. A complete extermination of all preceding species occurred—even very many of the genera disappeared. Of mammals the herbivora predominated at first. On the sandy plains of North America

The predominance
of mammals.

there were at least three different species of camel (*pro-camelus*), and four of horse. Of the mammals, some, as the mastodon and elephant, reached a prodigious size. All over the world the culmination of this mammal type of life took place in the post tertiary period. There is a well-marked order of succession in the appearance of the different groups. Thus, among familiar examples, the bears, the dogs, the cats, the antelopes, the oxen, at long intervals arose, in the order in which they are here named. But the same destiny awaited these that had befallen their predecessors in previous ages. Of the fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals of this age, not a single species now remains. All were exterminated. The species living with us are new-comers.

The plants of the Mammalian Age approximated in species those of the present time—oaks, poplars, dog-woods, magnolias, figs, conifers, palms. The climate indicated is warm: the mean annual temperature of North America was about 60°. The decline of temperature in the centre of the continent was abrupt when compared with that of Europe, which passed in slow succession through a tropical and subtropical to a temperate condition. This difference is probably correctly attributed to the contemporaneous increase of polar lands in the former continent.

Of the Sixth, or Present Age.

In many places the protrusion of the coast into the sea still continues; shoals are gradually coming to the surface; at the mouths of rivers deltas are still forming. In the interior, alluvial deposits are still arranged by running waters and lakes; peat bogs are produced by swamp growths.

The increasing distinctness of climate during the age of mammals, and the diversities of topography, permitted

Territory, plants,
and animals of the
sixth, or present
age.

a vast multiplication of the species of plants and animals. It is supposed that the existing species of the former are not fewer than 100,000, and of the latter 350,000. Already the great mammals have passed their culmination, and are in their decline. The climax for insects and birds is probably reached. Of insects, the latest comers are the Hymenoptera—bees and ants: they are endowed with instincts of a very high order. Even in insect life there has been an upward march of intelligence.

As respects the distribution of man on the North American continent, the geographical centre at the time of the discovery by Europeans was on the Mexican plateau. The human population in that region was variously estimated at from ten to fifteen millions. It had attained a high state of civilization. Elsewhere over the continent were sparsely scattered wandering and savage tribes, insignificant in numbers and low in intellectual grade. They probably did not exceed 300,000 souls—a mere fringe around the central Mexican mass.

That mass was connected with the dense population of South America through the isthmus that links the two continents together, and which, though now in desolation, was once a scene of human activity. In Yucatan and elsewhere in that region, there are many ruined and mysterious cities, or rather the remains of cities—palaces, temples, public works, obelisks, sepulchral vaults, and subterraneous labyrinths. Such are Palenque, Uxmal, Chichen. Mr. Stephens, in his admirable descriptions of these ruins, speaks of them as mournfully beautiful. There are grand and lowering temple walls, on the tops of which trees of an immense age are growing, and these by no means of the first generation; there are human figures cut in stone, grotesque and grim, and others whose plaintive, upturned faces ex-

The distribution of
man in North
America.

Past civilization in
Central America.

press human suffering and agony; there are apartments whose walls were once frescoed; arched ceilings, and floors laid in cement. There are subterranean ponds, and immense and elaborate tanks, some of them containing forty or fifty separate wells. There are water deposits of artificial construction nearly 500 feet beneath the surface, to which access is had down inclined pathways, in some cases 1400 feet long, the precipitous points being passed by ladders of osiers occasionally 80 feet in length. There are subterraneous chambers with dome-like ceilings of vast size; they are made water-tight with cement, and were probably used as granaries.

On the North American continent innumerable earth-works give evidence of the activity of races that have long ago disappeared. In Mississippi there are mounds covering six acres; in Missouri, inclosures of six hundred acres; it has been affirmed that in Ohio there are more than ten thousand tumuli. On many of these are heavy forest growths; trees showing as many as eight hundred annual rings have been cut down, and these not original, but subsequent growths. There has been much discussion as to the builders of these works. The scientific treatment of this topic can not, however, be undertaken until more accurate information is given respecting the progress and distribution of human life in South America. There the centre was in Peru. And though the Spanish conquerors affirmed that the Mexicans and Peruvians were ignorant of each other's existence, there can be no doubt that a line of civilized life stretched from the southern to the northern continent through Central America, as the architectural ruins to which we have just referred abundantly prove. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the Peruvian empire antedates that of Mexico. It is therefore not impossible

Extinct races of men and their works.

Peru probably the first centre of American human life.

that the progress of life on this continent may have been from the south to the north.

North America has thus grown gradually from a geological centre. One surface-belt after another has been laid down; the continent, in the lapse of ages, has been won from the sea; the maximum gains are to the south, southwest, west. The topographical plane has oscillated. In the Appalachian region there have been vast subsidences, in the Rocky Mountains vast elevations, and toward the Arctic Sea similar changes have occurred. These movements have not been of a paroxysmal kind, or attended by sudden catastrophes. Every thing proclaims that they were of slow execution—so slow that they might be spoken of as almost imperceptible. Geological revolutions are not ephemeral chances, but the inevitable effects of great and general causes. In the grandeur of the result—subsidences of seven miles at one point, elevations of half that magnitude elsewhere—we recognize the almost limitless periods of time consumed in these slow swayings of the crust of the earth upon its molten nucleus below.

We see, too, how the most magnificent features of this great theatre of life have been gradually developed. The Rocky Mountains are, in a scientific sense, only of yesterday. The rivers were not all born at once; they have an order of succession. These daughters of the sun and the sky came one after another, like children in a family. The primæval St. Lawrence found its way to the sea; the Hudson silently flowed countless ages before the Ohio was born. Still later came the Missouri, with its endless ramifications; still later, that grand trunk, the Lower Mississippi, which now pursues its majestic course into the Gulf of Mexico.

Survey of the topographical changes of the continent.

But not only have there been these gradual growths of a continent, these gentle but vast variations in its mountains and valleys, these regulated productions of its rivers—topographical alterations of supreme importance—there have also been surprising changes in the climate. We have seen that, during immeasurable ages, there was a common mean temperature over this continent. From the borders of the iceless Arctic Ocean, as far south as there was any land, there was a uniform warmth. The seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, with their pleasant vicissitudes, had no existence. There were variations of light, but not of heat. The monotony of animal life was broken only by a grateful recurrence of night and day. Not but that the astronomical causes of climates and seasons were in operation; their effects were masked by the predominating intrinsic heat of the globe.

There was a time when there was no Gulf Stream, no Labrador current. Such ocean currents are due to difference of temperature in the tropical and polar regions. A sameness of temperature in different latitudes far apart implies a stagnant sea. With such profound differences in the physical phenomena of the ocean are indissolubly connected equally profound differences in the physical phenomena of the atmosphere. A stagnant air, with its deathlike tropical calms, was succeeded by an air of breezes and of winds, the prevalent force and prevalent direction of which changed with variations in the topography of the growing land.

I have represented the climate of North America as thus exhibiting through countless ages a continual decline. But we are not without copious evidence that there were included in this grand diminution subordinate variations—secular seasons, as they may be termed—of which the so-called glacial epoch,

Those changes imply vast climate-variation,

And the occurrence of secular seasons,

or ice period, when much of the temperate zone was invaded by polar ice, is one—seasons not measured as ours are by the lapse of three or four months, but seasons whose measures are almost eternities. If we accept the opinion of some great modern astronomers, that these subordinate secular epochs of maximum and minimum temperature are due to the periodical variation in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, the origin and times of which are completely understood, their duration corresponds to scores of thousands of years. Is there not something unspeakably grand in vicissitudes on a scale so vast?

But, more than all—and this is a lesson of profound import to the reader of this book—with these mutations in the land, and sea, and air, there was an orderly succession of life.

And they have
modified every
living thing.

Countless species of animals and plants in succession emerged; in succession they suffered extermination. From the azoic rocks each of the succeeding 46 epochs had its own Fauna and Flora, its characteristic animals and plants. In the times included by the Potsdam, Trenton, and Hudson periods, the first three of that long catalogue, not fewer than 850 species are known to have become extinct, and who shall say how many more that are unknown?

What was the cause of those variations and extinctions? What was the cause of these wonderful modifications in the realm of plants and animals? Can the same influences—everlasting and all-powerful as they thus seem to be—can they modify men?

CHAPTER III.

ON THE GENERAL EFFECTS OF CLIMATE.

From the succession of life on the American continent, described in the preceding chapter, and from the modifications exhibited by the American staple products, such as Indian corn, sugar, cotton, cereal grains, it is shown that climate completely controls the various forms of life.

By climate I understand the aggregate of all the circumstances, natural and artificial, in which we live. The former are enumerated by Cabanis as chiefly, 1. Latitude; 2. Topographical elevation; 3. Local inclination; 4. Vicinity of mountains, sands, seas, lakes, rivers; 5. Nature of the soil; 6. Prevalent winds; 7. Ocean currents; 8. Forests. More generally, but perhaps with sufficient correctness, it may be stated that climate is determined by heat.

Geologists estimate that nearly half a million of different species of animals have successively appeared and become extinct during the progress of life upon the globe. They also suppose that, in like manner, not less than fifty thousand different species of plants have passed away.

To what shall we attribute these grand extinctions? Universal observation proves that for every species of animal and plant there are certain conditions that suit its well-being best. Thus, of aquatic animals, there are some that delight to be near the surface of the sea; others prefer its depths. Of plants there are some, such as the palm and banana, that reach their utmost luxuriance in the torrid zone; others, as the pine, come to perfection in a colder region.

Now if, through changes in the level of a country, salt

waters should invade fresh, or fresh waters should invade salt—if, in like manner, the sea should deepen or become shallower, what must become of those tribes that heretofore have found a congenial residence in the places thus disturbed?

If, through meteorological or other natural changes, the temperature of the West India Islands should decline to that now prevailing in Oregon, or if, conversely, the temperature of Oregon should rise to that of the West Indies, what, in the one case, would become of the palms? what, in the other, of the pines?

Under such circumstances two events only are possible. The species whose place of abode has been disturbed may undergo such modifications as to come into harmony with the changed conditions; if that be impossible, it must suffer extermination.

Thus, in the winter of 1835, the cold in the Southern States was so severe that tropical plants which had been flourishing more than half a century were cut off. In 1766 a similar season had destroyed all tropical fruits, except oranges, in Northern Florida.

But is there any evidence that an organic being is so plastic as to admit of modification? or must we conclude that its structure can not be varied?

Is it not the amusement of the horticulturist to produce such changes in plants? He skillfully turns single flowers into double ones; varies their color, their size. He produces all our prized varieties of garden and orchard fruits from those that were useless when wild.

Possibility of artificially modifying living beings.

The agriculturist does the same with animals. He modifies his sheep, his horses, his oxen, his dogs, his birds, to suit the purposes he has in view. His predecessors in the old times commenced modifying the wild individuals of these species. Between the forms they began with

I.—F

and the forms he has arrived at, there is a great difference. The Shetland pony and the race-horse came from one original stock. The terrier, the greyhound, the mastiff had a common parentage.

But it is sometimes said that these modifications are superficial and ephemeral; they are, as it were, only skin deep; they do not prove that species are capable of transmutation. It is also said, Are not the animals sculptured or painted by the Egyptians three or four thousand years ago the same that we are familiar with now? But that proves no more than that the climate of Egypt has not recently changed. Cuvier asserted the permanence of species for two reasons: 1st. The unchanged condition of the oldest known; 2d. The resistance of existing species to change.

Physiologically, however, the problem involved in these considerations is not one of quantity, but of quality. The point is, not how much or how far an organic type can change, but whether it can change at all. The possibility of modification, be it ever so small, once established, the extent to which it may go will obviously depend on the energy of the disturbing force, and the conditions of its application.

Pre-eminent among those conditions is time. As a
Effect of gradual disturbance. spring that would inevitably snap if its ends were abruptly brought together may be successfully bent if the force be more gently, more gradually applied, so a being that would at once be exterminated by too violent, too sudden a disturbance, may gradually accommodate itself to a new order of things, if that order come on by imperceptible degrees.

There was a time when upon what was the North American continent there were none but salt waters. By degrees, little rills that were fresh made their appearance; they grew with the growth of the land into larger streams.

In the course of ages a grand river and lake system was completed. At first, fresh-water fishes were an impossibility; finally, they might abound.

There was a time—it was of long duration—in which a uniform tropical temperature obtained from the shores of the Arctic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. There was no succession of seasons; it was an unending summer. By slow degrees, as the temperature went down, winter settled at the pole. At first, those animals and plants that can live only in a cool, bracing air, were an impossibility; the sultry landscape was covered with a torrid foliage. At last the white bear was seen on the iceberg, and the reindeer moss grew underneath the snow.

Chladni has shown that if some sand be scattered on a drum, or other elastic surface, whenever a suitable sound is made, the dry grains start up, and, entering on a choral dance, spontaneously arrange themselves in symmetrical and exquisitely perfect geometrical forms. If disturbed by another sound, they forthwith rearrange themselves in some other beautiful figure, and, answering to the voice that speaks to them, form after form in wonderful perfection comes forth. Thus, also, do organic beings answer to the voice of Nature, sympathetically responding to her call.

The plants and animals pertaining to those six periods that have passed under consideration in the last chapter were simply those that could under the prevailing conditions exist. There were impossibilities in the way of others. It was not possible, for instance, that hot-blooded animals could live before the coal deposits had been separated from the air. It was not possible that the primæval vegetation should exist after that great event.

If the Genii of the successive geological ages could have found a voice, this is what they, one and all, would have proclaimed—an ominous

Organic forms answer to natural conditions, and change with them.

All things that are possible exist.

declaration, the full meaning of which we only perceive when we ponder deeply upon it.

What can be, is.

Whatever was possible was present. The vital force that "sleeps in the stone, dreams in the animal, wakes in man," was pressing forward to produce new organisms. All nature is ever ready to burst into life.

A continuous variation in the progress of the American continent implied a continuous change in organic life. One group culminated after another—culminated when the surrounding conditions were most favorable to its type. Then, as those conditions became less and less consonant with it, it passed through stages of decline; when they became utterly discordant, it underwent extermination.

From that extermination there was but one escape. It was by transformation. But transformation could not take place at random. Its possible direction was predetermined, and depended on past events. The prophetic, or foreshadowing types, as they are called by naturalists, that were being incessantly introduced, are illustrations of this. By such types we mean those which embrace along with the characteristics of the group to which they pertain, others of another group not yet in existence. They not only indicate that a passage to a new form is about to be made, they also foretell what the completed result is about to be.

What has been said respecting the North American continent applies to the whole globe. Through slow secular changes in its climate, its atmosphere, its sea, it outgrew tribes, species, genera of life. So irresistible was the progress, so vast the changes, that not a single species has lived throughout the whole time; few have endured through so little as two successive out of forty-six recognized epochs. At

Illustrated by organic life all over the world.

its first appearance the new-comer was rarely at the bottom of the scale of the group to which it belonged, frequently it was nearer to the middle—then forthwith a descent to those that were lower, and an ascent to those that were higher of the same type of construction ensued—an exhibition of all possible diversities.

Could we have a more imposing proof of the absolute control of natural influences over the world of life than that thus grandly furnished to us by our own continent? No species has yet come into existence that could withstand the dominating influence of climate, and of changes in the physical condition of its place of abode.

Of the cultivated staple plants of the United States, one of the most valuable is maize, or Indian corn.

This plant is originally a tropical grass of singularly elastic disposition. In certain localities of the South it attains a height of more than a dozen feet, elsewhere it is dwarfed to a stature of two. The color of its grain varies—it may be chocolate-tinted, red, yellow, or white. In some places the buttery and bland oil contained in its seed rises to twelve per cent. of the seed-weight; in others it diminishes to four. One form of it abounds in sugar, another contains a less amount. There are varieties that require a long season to ripen their grain, in others it comes to perfection in eight or ten weeks.

When maize is caused to grow in a region of high and steady temperature, it tends to revert to its original form of a succulent grass. In the Pacific valleys opening to the sea it reaches its full average height, but the stalk is slender, and there is little disposition to mature the seed. It gains its maximum productive value in the Atlantic States above latitude 41°. Though the height attained is less, and the plant more insignificant in appearance

Climate-modifications of Indian corn.

than in the South, the seed-yield is said to be four or five times as heavy.

Climate differences therefore produce singular transformations in this plant, and give rise to many varieties of it. A rapid increase of temperature compresses its growth into a smaller number of days, and greatly increases its value by increasing its nutritive yield. The sudden access of heat needful for this favorable result must, however, be of a tropical character. The northward limit at which it will grow is marked by the isothermal of 67° for July. For that reason it can not be brought to perfection in England, nor indeed in California.

Climate-modifications of sugar-cane. Analogous to maize in many of its habitudes is the sugar-cane, though thus far inferior in the range of its modification. Doubtless by care and patience its cultivation may be carried much farther to the north than is at present the case; its period of growth has already been compressed from the sixteen months necessary in Venezuela, to the ten months requisite in Louisiana. The tropical habits of the plant may therefore be broken up without injury to its economical value.

Climate-modifications of cotton. But of these staple plants cotton displays the most valuable disposition to modification. In its native tropical home it is a perennial tree; at its extreme limit of northerly growth, an annual herbaceous plant. Without difficulty it passes from the woody to the herbaceous, or from the herbaceous back again to the woody form as the climate changes. In the steady tropical heats of India it is with difficulty detained in the herbaceous state. The annual fibre produce on which its economical value depends is greater up to a certain point the more moderate the temperature, and in this respect, therefore, it resembles maize, which reaches

a maximum value near the cold limit of its growth. To produce the most perfect staple, such as that known as the Sea Island, the humidity supplied must be moderate and uniform. For its successful cultivation, its growth must take place between the frosts of spring and those of autumn; and hence, the farther it is carried to the north, the more hastily must it be compelled to run through its cycle of life. This compulsory compression as to time is the cause of a diminution in size.

The small cereal grains of the United States—wheat, rye, etc.—though all perhaps remotely of Asiatic origin, have come to us through Europe, and therefore bear with them the climate impress of that continent. It is for this reason that the Pacific coast suits them so much better than the Atlantic. No country in the world is superior to California in the production of wheat. With most of these grains, as with cotton and corn, the maximum value is near the cold limit of their growth, and all of them readily submit to climate-modification.

The principles involved in producing modification are, perhaps, best seen from the consideration of a special example. If, therefore, we take the case of barley, we find that if the mean temperature sinks below $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, or rises above $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, the plant will no longer succeed. There are, therefore, two limits, a low and a high one, within which its growth must take place. In Egypt, on the banks of the Nile, barley is sown at the end of November, and harvested at the end of February; it runs through its entire cycle of life, therefore, in about 90 days. At Santa Fé de Bogota, the length between seed-time and harvest is 122 days; in other localities it is known to be as long as 168 days. The plant requires a certain quantity of heat for its development, and will come to perfection whether that heat is distributed over

Climate-modifications of cereal grains.

Illustration in the case of barley.

a longer or shorter period of time ; but, with such changes in the mode of application of the heat, transformation occurs, and a new variety of the plant arises.

Such is the effect of heat. It follows, therefore, that every zone of growth has two sides, one of which is hot, the other cold, and beyond these the plant does not transgress. In the interior of the zone the plants are not all alike ; but modified varieties are arranged in bands, running parallel with the warm and the cool side.

Heat, light, humidity, and the chemical composition of the soil, are the leading conditions productive of plant modification. Of the three former, it is not only the absolute amount, but the mode of distribution that is effective. Thus, in the Atlantic region of the United States, the special climate condition is a rapid increase of heat and moisture for the summer — there is no true spring. A European plant, which would develop in its native home more gradually, is here pushed precipitantly forward. Even in the forests the leafing takes place abruptly. And hence it is that any such stranger imported here must undergo modification.

Each zone of life
has two sides.

All European
plants are modified
in America.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SPECIAL CLIMATE EFFECTS ON MAN.

In the same manner that climate affects plants, it likewise affects human beings, producing modified men. It controls their complexion, their bodily construction, their duration of life, their actions, their thoughts. It has given rise in the Atlantic region to two distinctly marked populations; and in the Pacific region will hereafter originate many others, the counterparts of nations now occurring in Asia.

Climate acts on man as powerfully as it does on plants.

NOT without special intention have I in this History of the Civil War drawn my reader into a digression on things that seem to relate to the peaceful affairs of Rural Economy, and considered how corn and sugar, cotton and wheat, and grasses, brought from other regions, undergo modification here. Much more, abounding in interest, might have been said, but what has been offered is enough.

There is nothing privileged in Nature. High or low, all must submit to an impartial, an unchangeable rule.

If grasses, and grains, and all vegetable productions of other countries can not be perpetuated in America without undergoing modification, neither can men of foreign lineage.

Man changes with his place of residence.

Brought here, both begin slowly to change. The habits that have been impressed upon them in their native place linger with them for a time, but modification beginning, goes on by imperceptible degrees, until, in a few generations, they are no longer what they were. They come at length into physiological accordance with their new abodes, re-

taining those only of their former special peculiarities that are consistent therewith.

The uncivilized aboriginal American Indians illustrate the physiological influence of heat. The Esquimaux at the north, and the Fuegians at the south, are light, the tint of the native races deepening as the equator is approached. This gradual darkening of the complexion is much more strongly marked in South than in North America—New Granada, Venezuela, and Guiana being the hotter parts of the continent. For a similar reason, it is more strongly marked on the Pacific than on the Atlantic slope. It is sufficient to compare Catlin's portraits of the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains with those of the west, as figured in the *Voyage Pittoresque* of Choris, to appreciate how great a difference exists. But the olive-black Indians of the Pacific slope, though their lips are thick and their noses flat, have lank and not woolly hair. In South America, the so-called red race, as we have just observed, is deeper in complexion as we pass from Terra del Fuego northward toward the line. The Chilians are darker than the Fuegians, the Peruvians are darker than the Chilians. As the topographical construction of that continent would lead us to infer, there is an analogous distribution from east to west, crossing the preceding at right angles. The Inca race, who inhabit the plateaux of the Andes, because of the comparative elevation and coldness of those regions, are lighter than corresponds to the latitude. But, passing from these to the east, the Brazilio-Guarani are darker as we approach the Atlantic Ocean, their tint changing in correspondence to the isothermal lines. It may with truth be said that the intervention of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea has lightened the complexion of the aboriginal tribes of North and South America.

The influence of physical agents is not limited to the

Illustration in the
case of the Ameri-
can Indians.

Physical causes affect the construction of man.

establishment of variations in the complexion of the skin. M. D'Orbigny, in his report of the dissections of the Inca Indians who inhabit the plateaux of the Andes, comprized between the limits of 7500 and 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, shows that the remarkable disparity between the length of their trunk and that of other Americans depends altogether on the extraordinary disproportion of the chest consequent upon a corresponding development of their lungs. The necessities of life require that a given weight of air shall be supplied to the system of man in a given period of time. These Indians, breathing an atmosphere which, by reason of the altitude of their place of abode, is exceedingly rarefied, require a greater volume of air to make up the necessary weight. Increased capacity in the lungs is demanded, and, consequently, increased size of the chest. In the dissections that were made at the hospital of the city of La Paz, upward of 11,000 feet above the level of the ocean, of Indians from the populous plateaux still more elevated, it was ascertained that the cells of the lungs were not only very much more numerous, but likewise larger than in the case of individuals living near the level of the sea. The chest had become out of harmony with the length of the limbs, which remained the same as under ordinary circumstances.

Climate and place of abode, therefore, not only in a superficial, but also in a profound manner, can change the constitution and construction of man.

Such physical agents, continuing their unceasing operation for many centuries, bring the system of man into what may be termed a harmony with themselves. When that is attained a new race has arisen.

Human equilibrium with climate.

But such a new race will only retain the complexion

and features it has acquired as long as the circumstances under which it is living are unchanged. If they vary, it, like the sand-grains of Chladni, commences to do so too, slowly answering by its modifications to their modifications.

Slowly—for if the progress in the physical conditions be too rapid, the physiological change can not keep pace with it—discordancy arises; enfeeblement, perhaps even extermination, follows.

The Spaniards who attempted the colonization of the Southern Atlantic States, the French who settled along the St. Lawrence and threaded the Mississippi Valley, the English who held the intermediate regions, furnish illustrations of men who, in the lapse of many centuries, had undergone so much modification in Europe as to have become ethnically distinct. Each of these nations had its own physiological characteristics; each, also, for such is the necessary consequence, had its own modes of thought.

In the time that intervenes between the first coming of such diverse races into a new country and their attaining a physiological harmony with it, they will manifest, though in a declining manner, the attributes they had formerly acquired, and of those attributes such as are not discordant with the new state will continue. If he were transplanted suddenly to a cold abode, the Spaniard would not forget his superstition. The influence of race is therefore felt in newly-colonized countries, and in the discussion of political problems relating to them two conditions must ever be kept in view—the persistent influence of climate, and the ephemeral influence of race.

Many illustrations might be offered of the influence of Nature over modes of thought. The January isothermal line of 41° marks out in a general manner the final

The influence of
race as an historical
element.

boundary between the Catholic and Protestant peoples of Europe. To those living on the south of it an embellishment of worship is acceptable; to those on the north, a more simple or austere form. The recognition of such

Bodin's views.

facts led Bodin, in his great work, "De Republica," three hundred years ago, to declare that government must be adapted to climate; that force is best resorted to for northern nations, reason for the middle, and superstition for the southern. Carrying out the principles involved in these conclusions, he insisted that liberty of conscience ought to be granted to sectarians, and freedom of thought to all.

Applying the foregoing principles to the case of the Atlantic region of the American republic, and recollecting that the mean annual temperature of Maine, on the north, is 42° , while that of Florida, on the south, is 75° , and that New Jersey, at the east, has a mean annual temperature of 51° , while Nebraska, at the west, is 47° , it follows that the differences of climate north and south are very much greater than those east and west. Between Maine and Florida the difference is 33° ; between New Jersey and Nebraska only 4° .

In the republic, therefore, the type variations due to this natural cause will be most strongly marked in the north and south direction.

Type variations of men north and south in the republic.

East and west the differences are insignificant. Supposing the whole community at rest, and time sufficient for its coming into harmony with the climate afforded, there would eventually be found strands of population arranged across the Atlantic region of the continent almost in parallel zones. The antagonism of habit and thought must be between the north and the south; there will be harmony between the east and the west.

If we collect into groups those states of which the

Grouping of the states. mean annual temperature is below 50° , and those of which the mean annual temperature is above 60° , this antagonism will be correctly recognized. In the former group we shall find Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska. In the latter are arranged North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas.

But this antagonism is based upon the motionless condition of the community. It is disturbed at once by migration, and the more thoroughly the more active the locomotion. If by any means an incessant and complete intermingling could be accomplished, it would not exist at all.

Moreover, by the creation of artificial climates, as will be presently explained, the Northern man makes his physical condition approach that of the Southern. By his various resorts to clothing, food, habitation, fire, he raises the mean annual temperature of his abode.

The political antagonism between the North and the South results, therefore, from the uncompensated residue. It is by no means so great as it might be. Civilized life diminishes it.

At the breaking out of the civil war, of the eight millions of white inhabitants of the slave states, probably not two hundred thousand had ever been in the North, and they, at the best, had only been transient visitors. Of the poor whites hardly any had made that journey. Of Northern families settled in the South the number was very insignificant. Legislation, such as it was in the slave states, repelled that kind of immigration. Southern society regarded the intruder with suspicion, impatience, dislike. In each section intercommunication with the other became yearly more re-

Disturbing effect of locomotion.

strained. The catastrophe that ensued would not have occurred had a wise legislation promoted intercourse.

In this we see an illustration of that profound remark which Quetelet makes respecting malefactors in Europe: "Society prepares the crime, the culprit only executes it."

There is, therefore, a tendency to disintegration or disruption of the republic arising from climate. Communities separated by many degrees of latitude become in the course of time antagonistic in their feelings and thoughts.

Type variations
tend to the disruption
of the republic.

This antagonism is more dangerous when either or each of the opposing communities is consolidated by some common industrial bond, a condition not unfrequently arising in the very circumstances of the case. Thus the cultivation of cotton gives to the Gulf communities

The same type
tends to think and
act alike.

a united, it might be said, almost a single interest, increasing their predisposition to think and act as one man.

If, again, there be any common political bond, such, for instance, as the institution of slavery, it, too, will act in the same way. But the growth of cotton and the perpetuation of slavery were both connected with the cause that was establishing physiological distinction in the Gulf communities, that is to say, with climate.

Antagonisms thus re-enforced can readily find political expression; and when in action, will manifest unanimity and surprising power, as was shown by the cotton states in the civil war.

Such is the condition of things between the two sections north and south of the Atlantic region. Some very interesting facts are developed if we trace the progress of each section in the act of acclimatization, for they proceed to a different extent, the South having the greater departure from the typical standard of Western Europe to make.

Process of acclimatization in the North and in the South.

A discussion of the observations published by the Statistical Bureau of the United States Sanitary Commission will show in what manner that progress of acclimatization in the two cases proceeds. Taking ten thousand white men of eighteen years of age, it will be found that in the slave states one half are dead before the age of thirty-seven is attained ; in the free states, that diminution is not reached until nearly forty-three. The waste of life in the former is, therefore, excessively rapid ; it keeps increasing until the thirty-second year is attained, when it reaches its maximum. At that epoch the Southern population has lost of its original number upward of fifteen hundred more than the Northern. Subsequently the death-rate of the North gains relatively upon the death-rate of the South, so that by the time the fiftieth year is attained, the difference between the two is less than four hundred individuals in favor of the North.

It is greatly to be regretted that we have not the necessary observations for determining the life-curves of the strands of population on the successive isothermal lines. One of the most important services that can be rendered to scientific medicine is such a determination for the two annual isothermals of 69° and 50° . Undoubtedly it would present the differences I am here speaking of in a very impressive manner. When we reflect that the military propensity of individual man is at its maximum in his eighteenth year, that propensity being equally displayed toward each of the three arms of the service—infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and having no exception in the free states save in New York and Pennsylvania, in which the existence of great cities postpones the maximum to the twenty-first year, it is obvious that the military strength of the North must, from mere physical causes, preponderate over that of the South, since for every ten thousand men capable of entering on military life at eighteen, there

will be at its close, or when forty-five years are attained, a balance in favor of the North of more than eight hundred men.

This high death-rate of the South, which I thus without hesitation impute to climate influences, illustrates the difficulty with which men of European origin become acclimatized, or attain a concordance with the country into which they have come. The same thing is shown, if possible, in a still more striking manner, when we compare the population of the entire United States, North and South, with those of England and France. In a million of people at the epoch 1830, the births in the United States were nearly double what they were in France, this depending, I presume, on the general material prosperity of the country, which gives rise to precocious marriages. But the population of the United States, still partially retaining its European race-peculiarities, and indeed having, so far as the North is concerned, those peculiarities continually re-enforced by immigration, approaches to physiological correspondence with the new climate it is inhabiting in such a difficult manner, that the waste of life is enormous. With such a vast superiority in births, the individuals attaining their twenty-sixth year had sunk down to the standard for France; nay, more, the number of those that could reach the forty-ninth year was only half of what it was in France.

The amount of acclimatization accomplished in a single generation, or thirty years, is decisively shown on comparing the United States census of 1830 with that of 1860; the waste of infant and adolescent life had greatly diminished, and the life of the whole American people had made no insignificant approach toward the typical standard. This, of course, is not attributable to any corresponding improve-

Death-rate in the
North and South.

Typical progress of
the American pop-
ulation.

ment in the medical art, but to the physiological impression that had been made upon the whole community. It would have been still more strongly marked had it not been for the adverse influence of immigration.

The population of France has attained much more nearly to the theoretical type of life than either that of England or America. But in the thirty years ending in 1860, the United States had made a rapid advance. The infant mortality in France is comparatively very low; the total population exhibits a very great gain over that of England at all ages subsequently to twenty-eight years.

In the equation ($N=a \sin n k^n \theta$) indicated by the Statistical Bureau of the Sanitary Commission, there are two constants (k and θ) characteristic of each particular population under examination. The constituent elements entering into these constants represent, therefore, many different conditions, such as religious influence, the value of practical medicine, and, above all, climate. As to religious influence, it manifestly operates in a signal manner, inducing sobriety, temperance, and a tendency to tranquillity of life. In like manner, the value of practical medicine is expressed in its directly curative results and consequent saving of life. Doubtless before long the mathematical value of these, and other such elements, will be much more clearly understood.

Of these two constants (k and θ) the value has changed in the last four decennial census examinations as follows

Comparison of the population with that of France, England, and other European countries.

Date.	k .	θ .
1830	0.9918	2°0524
1840	0.9921	1°9747
1850	0.9932	1°8361
1860	0.9941	1°7307

“The curious fact thus is evident that our population has been, during the last forty years or more, gradually assimilating itself to the normal type ($k=1$).”

It is instructive to compare this with England and Wales.

Date.	k .	θ .
1851	0.9957	1°4702
1861	0.9962	1°4316

Here again the values of k are increasing, and those of θ diminishing.

In Prussia,

Date.	k .	θ .
1852	0.9960	1°4702

values closely approaching those for England and Wales for the same epoch.

In France,

Date.	k .	θ .
1851	1.0000	1°0553
1856	1.0000	1°0556
1861	1.0000	1°0473

The French population has therefore developed itself very closely to the normal type, and on comparing the tables of that population, deduced from its census returns, with the theoretical values indicated by computation, the chief discrepancies are,

For the ages exceeding 50 in the census of 1851 ;
“ “ “ 55 “ “ 1856 ;
“ “ “ 60 “ “ 1861 ;

and these are probably correctly attributed to the social condition of France during the Republic, and up to the time when order was restored by Napoleon, the period of birth of this portion of the population.

In a general manner, life-insurance tables prove that people live longer now than they did a century ago. The rich, and those who are surrounded with the comforts of life, have greater longevity than the poor. In France the value of life has doubled since the 14th century. It has gained one third since 1781.

In concluding this comparison of the inhabitants of the Atlantic region of the United States, I make the following extract from my work on the Civil Policy of America.

“When a nation emigrates to a new country, the climate of which differs from that of the country it has left, it slowly passes through modifications, attempting, as it were, to adapt itself to the changed circumstances under which it has now to live. Many generations may be consumed before a complete correspondence between its physiological condition and the climate to which it is exposed is attained.

“Its different classes will not make this movement with equal facility. Some will accomplish it more quickly, others more slowly. Even when an equilibrium has been reached as completely as possible, there will still be distinct orders plainly enough perceptible among them. These orders depend on a difference in individual intellectual development.

“Uniformity of climate makes people homogeneous; they will necessarily think alike, and inevitably act alike.

“In the North the alternation of winter and summer allots to the life of man distinct and different duties. Summer is the season of outdoor labor; winter is spent in the dwelling. In the South labor may be continuous, though it may vary. The Northern man must do to-day that which the Southern man may put off till to-morrow. For this reason, the Northern man must be industrious; the Southern may be indolent, having less foresight, and a less tendency to regulated habits. The cold, bringing

Contrast of character North and South produced by climate.

with it a partial cessation from labor, affords also an opportunity for forethought and reflection, and hence the Northern man acquires a habit of not acting without consideration, and is slower in the initiation of his movements. The Southern man is prone to act without reflection; he does not fairly weigh the last consequences of what he is about to do. The one is cautious, the other impulsive. Winter, with its cheerlessness and discomforts, gives to the Northern man his richest blessing—it teaches him to cling to his hearthstone and family. In times of war, that blessing proves to be his weakness; he is vanquished if his dwelling be seized. (The Southern man cares nothing for that.) Cut off from the promptings of Nature for so long a portion of the year, the mind in the North becomes self-occupied; it contents itself with but few ideas, which it considers from many points of view. It is apt to fasten itself intently on one, and pursue it with fanatical perseverance. A Southern nation, which is continually under the influence of the sky—which is continually prompted to varying thought, will indulge in a superfluity of ideas, and deal with them all superficially; more volatile than reflective, it can never have a constant love for a fixed constitution. Once resolved to act, the intention of the North, sustained by reason alone, will outlast the enthusiasm of the South. In physical courage the two are equal, but the North will prevail through its habits of labor, of method, and its inexorable perseverance. Long ago, writers who have paid attention to these subjects have affirmed that the South will fight for the benefit of its leaders, but the North will conquer for the benefit of all. To convince the man who lives under a roof, an appeal must be made to his understanding; to convince him who lives under the sky, the appeal must be to his feelings.”

The nations of men are arranged by climate on the sur-

Laws of human
character from
the equator to-
ward the poles.

face of the earth in bands that have a most important physiological relation. In the torrid zone, intellectual development does not advance beyond the stage of childhood; all the ideas correspond to those of early individual life. In the warmer portions of the temperate zone, the stage of youth and commencing manhood is reached. A critical observer can not fail to be interested with the tone of thought and manner of action of these populations: their old men are only overgrown youths. Along the cooler portions of that zone, the character attained is that of individual maturity, staid sobriety of demeanor, reflective habits, tardy action. Fire, vivacity, brilliancy, enthusiasm, are here exchanged for coldness, calculation, perseverance. Present gratification, a life of ease, a putting aside of care, are the characteristics of the southern edge of this zone; contentment in the anticipation of a happier future, even though that happier future should imply a life of unremitting toil, is the characteristic of the northern. The former seeks to secure its pleasures from the unrequited toil of those whom it can compel; the latter aims at the same result by securing the equally reluctantly-rendered gains of trade. The one relies on Force, the other too much on Fraud. Still more to the north, as the frigid regions are approached, the type of humanity answers to the later years of individual life—even the children are old men.

Resemblance to the
progress of individ-
ual life.

Nature thus gives us, in the geographical distribution of human beings, a reflected picture of the ages of individual man. We need not go beyond the precincts of our own republic to recognize that truth.

I have now to turn from the Atlantic to the Pacific region of the United States. In this, considering the recentness of its settlement, our thoughts must be directed,

not so much to what is as to what will hereafter be, and, therefore, it is little that upon this point can be said.

Such a sameness of climate as that between the Atlantic States and the corresponding latitudes of the Mississippi Valley is here no longer perceived. There are no longer the equally distributed heats or the symmetrical rains. On the contrary, we have to deal with a region of the most abrupt and violent meteorological contrasts—of a most versatile capacity for animal and vegetable life in all their possible modifications. In localities no very great distance apart there are scorching heats and eternal snows, sandy deserts sterile for want of rain, and districts marked by a perpetual humidity. That wonderful region has the capacity for acclimating all kinds of tropical, subtropical, and temperate forms of both realms, animal and vegetable.

In its interminable plains and basin-like areas, in its mountain heights and on their rapid inclines, new forms of organization will be developed. From such areas in Asia came most of our domesticated animals, our cereals and fruits. In the Pacific region there is an American Arabia, Persia, Palestine, Tartary. For a million of square miles the aspect of nature is altogether Asiatic, and then, on the coast, it abruptly approximates the European. Europe and Asia are here pressed into contact.

Man also, in these varied abodes, will undergo modification; and since, under like circumstances, human nature is always the same, the habits and ideas of the Old World will reappear in the New. The arts of Eastern life, the picturesque Orientalism of Arabia, will be reproduced in our interior sandy desert, the love-songs of Persia in the dells and glades of Sonora, and the religious aspirations of Palestine in the similar scenery of New Mexico.

The wonderful varieties of the Pacific region will originate many modifications of men.

Asiatic life in America.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE PRODUCTION OF ARTIFICIAL CLIMATES BY MAN.

In determining the operation of climate on nations, it must be borne in mind that man, to a certain extent, can control natural influences by producing artificial climates. This is done by the use of fire, food, clothing, houses, etc.; and though these compensations can never be complete, they tend to produce unity of character in civilized life.

Control over climate by man. CONSIDERED as a mere member of animated nature, man must submit to the universal, the imperious domination of physical agents; but considered as endowed with reason, he exhibits a great, a conspicuous advantage. He can create artificial climates, and modify the aspect of his place of abode. He has, therefore, within certain limits, a power of antagonizing nature, and of resisting the physical agents that tend to his destruction. For this he resorts to the use of clothing, to properly constructed shelter, to the management of fire, to variations in his food, and to migration.

Man, therefore, tends to create salubrious climates. He adapts external conditions to himself, and himself to them, and hence is only slowly modified when other animals would become extinct.

Contrast between the Indian and the European. The Indians who formerly occupied this continent, inadequately clad, imperfectly sheltered in their wigwams, knowing nothing of the management of fire beyond the rude method of kindling a few sticks and exposing themselves to the heat and smoke together, restrained in their migration to a narrow territorial range through incessant tribe warfare, using no adaptation of diet to suit the warmth or the cold, with difficulty maintained themselves through

a life of hardship. A high death-rate kept their number down.

The European, who has supplanted them, makes the enterprise and industrial art of the world tributary to his purposes, in furnishing him the warmest woven fabrics and furs for winter clothing, and light and cool articles for the summer. He lives in houses heated by fireplaces, stoves, furnaces, steam, or many other contrivances continually undergoing improvement. He has shady piazzas, verandas, and apartments skillfully ventilated. He lays all countries under tribute to furnish him articles of food and luxury. He can abate the heat of summer and moderate the rigors of winter. He can equalize the temperature to which he is exposed, and create a new and fictitious climate for himself. His ample means of locomotion give him a ready access, as occasion requires, to the cool sea-shore or the mountains, or to the warmth and mild seasons of the South.

Contrast between
the North and
South.

In the creation of a fictitious climate, the man of the North has been more successful than the man of the South, for it is easier to raise the temperature of an abode from a low degree than to cool it from one that is high. In the infancy of humanity, cold was man's antagonist; his more perfect civilization struggles less successfully with heat.

It is interesting to observe what an impress this has made upon human character. The man of the North has learned that he can resist natural influences destructive to his comfort, or injurious to his well-being. He becomes provident, self-reliant, active.

The man of the South, oppressed with the heat that he can not combat, and from which he can not escape, querulously resigns himself to what he thinks is unavoidable, and can not be overcome. Inactivity is his only refuge. He submits to what he considers to be his fate.

In the temperate and cold regions of the globe the mean annual heat is much below 98° , and, therefore, much below that of the body of man. There are but few summer days in which the thermometer rises as high as 95° ; hence there ensues a physiological necessity for the development of heat in the system, to keep the temperature up to its standard point. The quantity of heat thus necessarily engendered must obviously be greater as the external air is cooler, and civilized man meets the variable demand by variations in his food.

Control through selection of food.

Of articles of food, some, such as fruits, by undergoing oxidation in the system, liberate or engender a less amount of heat; others, such as oils, fats, and animal meats, produce a much greater quantity. Guided, as we say, by instinct, the inhabitant of a tropical climate prefers a light and watery diet, finding a grateful repast in vegetable products. He says, what is strictly true, that they are less heating to his system. On the contrary, the inhabitant of a cold country turns from such things with disgust. He satisfies his appetite with more highly combustible food—food that will yield more heat by oxidation. To the Laplander, tallow and train oil, things to the last degree revolting to the West Indian, furnish an acceptable repast. The Esquimaux delights in the fat of seals and the blubber of whales.

Where, by reason of the exterior cold, man is compelled to generate much interior heat to maintain his standard degree, such highly heat-yielding food as the various oils and fats must be resorted to. Where, on the contrary, by reason of the exterior warmth, as in tropical countries, the loss of heat from the body is less, there is a less demand for interior heat generation, and watery articles of food, such as fruits, are preferred.

Now it is often said that instinct guides us in these our likes and dislikes, but we find that they depend on a pro-

found scientific cause. We also see—and hence the importance of the study of these things to the philosophical historian—that the habits and mode of life of communities depend on the physical conditions to which they are exposed. One people will delight in the chase, another will be occupied with agriculture.

This regulation of his interior temperature by adjustments in the quality and quantity of his food is carried into operation most completely by civilized man. Not unfrequently it implies a moral restraint, such as the barbarian is little likely to impose upon himself. However, in the first advances of humanity, food-adjustments are often displayed. Thus it was remarked by the early European voyagers that the North American Indians who lived near the Mexican Gulf were much more disposed to agricultural pursuits than those of Canada. They had gardens in which melons, squashes, and pumpkins were raised, and, though wild animals were very abundant, relied much less on the chase.

By thus availing himself of his perfect control over fire; by changing his clothing to suit the seasons of the year; by constructing houses that shelter him from the weather; by regulating the food he uses, civilized man creates artificial climates for himself, no matter in what part of the world he may happen to be. In this respect he therefore tends to emancipate himself partially from the climate influences that have acted so disastrously on former inhabitants of the world, and led to their repeated exterminations.

The European type of man, introduced on this continent, and obliged to submit to the exposures and mode of life of the Indian, would, in the lapse of time, approach the Indian complexion, configuration, characteristics. But living, as it does, in a climate artificially created, and sub-

jected to none of the natural hardships and exposures that otherwise would bear so prejudicially upon it, it departs more slowly from the typical standard, and, in truth, its departures are in another, probably a higher direction.

The general result of this creation of artificial climates is, that the inhabitants of a country, far and near, are brought more closely to an average, or mean condition. Great differences of temperature, particularly of temperatures that are low, are reduced, and men are made more homogeneous, more like one another. We see this very strikingly in the case of modern Europe, where, through the operation of such artificial causes, an approximate sameness in the circumstances under which life is carried on is approached; men are less modified than they were when exposed to the undisturbed natural conditions; their race-diversities become less; they consequently think and act more nearly alike. Every passing year brings the population of that continent into a more homogeneous state; it tends to diminish physical and intellectual diversities, and prepare the way for unity in political institutions.

This approximation in corporeal and intellectual condition is the true cause of that passionate longing for political unity exhibited by so many modern people. Unionism, if fought for in America, is sighed for in Italy and Germany. Statesmen who justly comprehend the irrépressible nature of national instincts thus rooted in the very constitution of man, know well that, whatever the political cost or sacrifice may be, it is the part of wisdom to gratify them.

I have made the remark that it is much more easy, by food, clothing, houses, the management of fire, to raise temperatures that are low than to diminish those that are high. All things considered, probably the most suit-

Approximation to sameness in civilized populations.

Cause of the desire for political unity.

able mean point is 62° . Practically we can more readily ascend from wintry temperatures to that point, than descend to it from the warmth of summer. Hence it comes to pass that our creation of artificial climates is, for the most part, equivalent to living in a more southerly region.

The mean annual temperature of the city of New York is about 50° , that of the city of Washington about 55° . There is, therefore, a difference of five degrees in the mean annual temperature of these two towns—that is, so far as natural conditions are concerned. But, in point of fact, in all those classes of society which can command what we speak of as the comforts of life, this difference is greatly diminished, and the mean artificial temperature of New York is brought more closely to approach the natural temperature of Washington.

However, after all has been done, these artificial climate-compensations are only partial; they can never establish between places that are far apart a true identity; and, since such residual variations, no matter how insignificant they may be, make an inevitable impression on the constitution and construction of man, different communities will ever present the spectacle of variously-modified men.

We must not forget that of the two sexes, considering their different habits of life, women are much more influenced by the creation of artificial climates. This arises from their sedentary or domestic pursuits in the interior of houses as compared with the outdoor life of men. They impress, however, upon their children—for these effects are capable of hereditary transmission—the peculiarities thus imposed upon themselves, though perhaps in a diminished degree. On the whole, the Northern woman is, in civilized life, much more Southernized than the Northern man.

Incomplete character of these compensations.

Acclimatization of the two sexes.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF NATIONAL CHARACTER BY CLIMATE-ZONES.

Since every climate has an answering type of humanity, it is possible to anticipate national character and national action by an identification of a corresponding climate-zone, and its historical study.

These principles are illustrated by the climate-zone of the Southern States, by the non-existence of the indigenous negro in America, and by the intellectual deficiency of the earth's southern hemisphere.

THAT similar causes will always produce similar effects is a maxim which holds good as perfectly in physiology as in the purely physical sciences.

Man is a plastic organism. He changes with the changing influences to which he is exposed. Like
Every climate has its type of humanity, clay in the hand of the potter, he may be modeled into many different forms; but successive portions of clay forced into the same mould will yield casts that are all alike.

So for every climate, and, indeed, for every geographical locality, there is an answering type of humanity. An intruder placed under such influences forthwith commences to undergo a corresponding modeling, which, though race-peculiarities may retard, does not cease until the proper type is assumed.

With the assumption of that typical form come habits and interests that pertain to it. With a
And each type its special mode of thought. special bodily organization comes a special and corresponding mental organization, and a disposition for a determinate course of thought. The thoughts of man will always gather a tincture from the circumstances and scenery amid which he lives.

If there be two localities in which the aspect of nature and all other physical influences are precisely alike, we may be sure that there will be a close correspondence in the habits and thoughts of their inhabitants.

Hence political foreknowledge is based upon a study of nature. If we wish to ascertain the probable action of a given existing community, we must seek for some former community which has been placed under similar natural conditions. Its life will foreshadow the life of that in which we are taking an interest.

The method of political foreknowledge.

We must not, however, expect to find conditions of absolute identity; at best we can only detect an approximation. Yet from the recognition of such an approximation the most valuable suggestions may be extracted. The doings of the past, but analogous or parallel community, will be to us prophetic.

Hereafter it will be one of the most interesting and valuable studies of the American statesman to determine in the Old World the counterparts of proposed geographical localities in the New. His expectations will be guided by their history, and in this manner will history most truly discharge its proper function, and be philosophy teaching by example.

Some general resemblances have been traced by writers on meteorology between certain localities in North America and others in the Old World.

Local resemblances in the New and Old World.

Thus the Atlantic region in many important respects corresponds to China, the Gulf of California to the Red Sea, Sonora to Persia, the Great Basin to the basin of the Caspian, the Sandy Desert to Arabia, New Mexico to Palestine, British America on the north to the plains of Siberia and European Russia, the Prairie region to Moldavia and Wallachia.

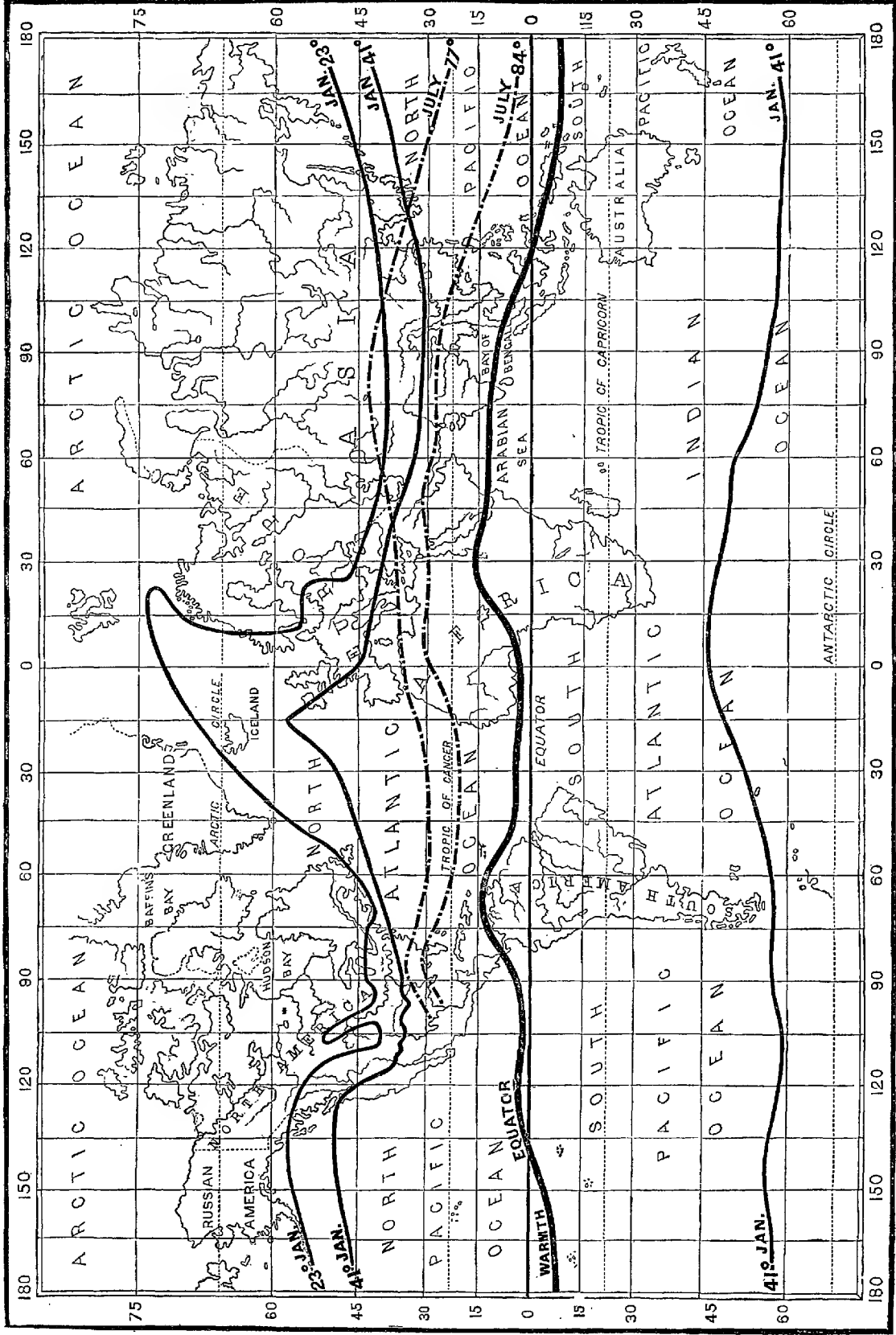


DIAGRAM OF ISOTHERMAL LINES.

On the other hand, there are very important differences between the west coast of America and the west coast of Europe. The Gulf Stream, crossing the Atlantic, carries with it the heat of the torrid zone, raising the temperature and giving humidity to all Western Europe. But off the California coast is a great body of cold water, which keeps the temperature down. On the Pacific, therefore, Norway, England, and Spain are represented on a narrow strip, but there is nothing that answers to France.

It is not, however, from such general resemblances that a basis is to be obtained; for political reasoning, we must follow the surer guide of isothermal zones. Imperfect as our knowledge of them is, it nevertheless will yield us very valuable indications.

Let it be proposed, for example, to inquire what will be the probable character of a European population placed on the Atlantic border, and destined to develop itself westwardly along a special climate-zone bounded on the north by the July isothermal line of 77° , and on the south by that of 84° .

First we shall have to ascertain in what part of the Old World the same isothermal zone occurs; then we shall have to learn from history the character and acts of the nations who have inhabited that zone.

Illustration by the
isothermal zone of
the Southern States.

In such an investigation we are guided by the summer isothermals rather than the winter, because, as has been shown in what has been said respecting the production of artificial climates by civilized man, it is much easier to raise the winter temperature than to diminish the summer. Practically, man is compelled to submit unresistingly to the summer heat.

The problem I have here presented for consideration
I.—H

Its track in the Old World.

is in reality that of the Southern States. At once it is to be remarked, from an inspection of the map, page 112, that their summer climate zone does not occur upon the Continent of Europe. It follows the Mediterranean edge of the African coast through regions made memorable in ancient history by the great capitals, Carthage and Alexandria. Entering Asia, it passes through the Holy Land, leaving Palmyra on its northern verge. It crosses the Tigris and Euphrates, enveloping Nineveh and Babylon, and makes its way through Central Persia, Ispahan being about its midst. Eastward, beyond Afghanistan, it encounters the Himalaya Mountains.

Character of its population.

No climate zone on the face of the earth has produced greater men, or more profoundly affected the course of human affairs. Among soldiers, it has Hannibal; among philosophers, Euclid; among astronomers, Ptolemy. Persia is a land of poets. Jerusalem, the holiest of cities, is the cradle of religion. Carthage disputed with Rome the empire of the world. If there be a geographical band, the inhabitants of which have completely delivered down their annals to succeeding generations, a band that deserves the title of the Historical, this is it.

Selection of the North African portion.

So vast is the mass of illustration afforded that it is impossible for me to consider all this zone. I shall, therefore, select the portion nearest to us—the south Mediterranean coast—limiting my remarks to the most westerly portion of it.

Into this strip of land, bounded by the Mediterranean Sea above, by the desert of Sahara below, and backed by that classic range of mountains, the Atlas—a land of vines, maize, melons, oranges, lemons, and palms—at different periods different races of men have been introduced. In its earlier and more glorious days it received

emigrants from Asia—the Carthaginians. It has been held in subjection by Romans, Goths, Vandals, Byzantines, Saracens.

If we inquire whether in such an enervating climate the lassitude of summer, by inducing an indisposition for active life, destroys all inclination or genius for war, we shall quickly find an emphatic answer. The Roman generals could not conceal their astonishment at the surprising military resources of Carthage. On one occasion it surrendered to them 200,000 complete suits of armor, 2000 catapults and other engines of war. It maintained fleets of 2000 war ships and 3000 transports; it could bring into the field armies of 300,000 men. It made repeated invasions of Sicily, and held Spain in subjection. From that country it drew great supplies of silver, and mercenaries to recruit its forces. Though the sword and fire might be passed over North Africa in complete and ruinous subjugation, its Roman conquerors were amazed at the rapidity with which it could be rearmed. Driven to extremity, the men made weapons out of domestic implements; the women cut off their long hair for bow-strings. Its military virtues were seen at the final storming of Carthage, which was literally conquered street by street and house by house.

The testimony to its military prowess borne by the Romans is repeated by the Byzantines. In the campaigns of Belisarius, it is declared that five millions of its inhabitants perished. That testimony could, in our own times, be sustained by the French. After more than thirty years, the conquest of Algeria is not finished.

Then it matters not whether a Syrian, a Roman, a Goth, or an Arab be put on that zone, he will not be enervated by it, nor will his military virtues decline.

Nay, more, even the women will rival, perhaps exceed

Its military resources and historical acts.

Character of its women. in patriotism, the men. They come to maturity at an earlier age than their sisters who inhabit a colder climate. Their passions rise higher than love. When Asdrubal, in the extremity of despair, submitted to the Romans, his wife appeared on the roof of the burning temple of Esculapius, and, upbraiding him with bitter taunts for his surrender, threw herself headlong into the flames. It was in this zone, though far in the east, that Zenobia, the Palmyrean queen, resisted the Emperor Aurelian; on the banks of the Euphrates, the jeweled dromedary of that dark-eyed fleeing beauty was overtaken by the light-horse of Rome—in this, her exemplar Cleopatra, the Egyptian daughter of the Macedonian kings, was bitten by an asp, brought to her in a basket of flowers, to escape being led in the triumph of her conqueror.

Among races of such a hot temperament war assumes its most pitiless aspect. In the conflict between the Carthaginians and their mercenary or slave troops, so dreadful were the cruelties committed that foreign nations were appalled. The Greeks gave it an immortality of infamy by denouncing it as “The Inexpiable War.” Its behavior to prisoners of war. Prisoners taken on the field were put to death. Some were crucified; others thrown to the wild beasts; in one day 40,000 captives were massacred in cold blood. The lapse of ages does not modify the climate-engendered passions of man. In that country, and in our own time, French officers, exasperated to retaliation, have suffocated their fugitive enemy by fires at the mouths of caves.

But, turning away from these darker characteristics, and confessing that the history of this zone indicates a defective appreciation of that noble sentiment, the sacredness of human life, if we proceed to inquire what has been its influence on

It can not appreciate the sacredness of human life.

the intellectual faculties, we shall have a more acceptable and gratifying task. Modern Europe is under the deepest obligation to it. Our form of Christianity came not from Constantinople, not from Asia Minor, not even from Rome. We owe it to African ecclesiastics, to Athanasius the Alexandrian, and Augustine the Carthaginian.

When, after the Mohammedan conquest of the North African shore, polygamy had done its work, and the hybrid mixture of Roman, Goth, and Vandal had been so thoroughly extinguished by amalgamation with the Saracen that, as the emir of the province informed the khalif, the tribute had ceased, since all the children were speaking the Arabic tongue, a new ethnical element had been introduced. Three or four centuries brought that new people into harmony with surrounding nature, and manifested the influence of this zone on the intellectual powers. Through a line of academies and colleges reaching from Bagdad to Spain, Physical Science and Industrial Art were conveyed to Europe from the East. The country was a pathway of learning. Great writers on Theology, Law, Mathematics, Astronomy, and all the highest branches of human knowledge abounded. In my *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* I have considered these facts in detail. There were problems solved by these Africans in the twelfth century for which Europe was not ready until five hundred years later. As an illustration, I have reviewed the optical works of Alhazen, who explained the true theory of vision, determined the use of the retina, the nature of single sight with two eyes. He traced the course of a ray of light through the air; pointed out and explained the operation of astronomical refraction; ascertained the cause of the twilight, and of the appearance of the horizontal sun and moon. He determined that the atmosphere must have a limit, and assigned for its height $58\frac{1}{2}$

Its intellectual attainments.

miles—an estimate very near the truth. In Alhazen's time there was not a man in all Christendom who could read with understanding these things.

Then there is nothing in this zone incompatible with an exercise of the highest intellectual powers; on the contrary, when opportunity favors, much may be done. Undoubtedly the rapidity with which the Tyrian emigrants in the old days, and the Arabian conquerors of a later time, came into harmony with this climate, was due to the trifling variation they had to encounter—the former were denizens of the same zone, the latter came from one only a little distance to the south.

But in the present condition of that country, so highly favored by Nature, there is an ominous warning.

Though Carthage had a negro slave-trade, it never amounted to much. Those Africans were
The slave system. disposed of in Europe rather as objects of curiosity than for the services they could render. The Roman war system and slave system provided for labor in another way. For many centuries North Africa received its supply of immigrants from Europe, at first voluntarily, but eventually under the form of a slave-trade. In the time of Charlemagne so much scandal had arisen from this commerce that he was constrained to interfere. When the Italian dukes accused Pope Adrian of selling his vassals as slaves to the Saracens, Charlemagne had the matter investigated, and, finding that transactions of the kind had occurred in the port of Civita Vecchia, he ever after withdrew his countenance from that pope. At that time a very extensive child slave-trade was carried on with the Saracens through the medium of Jewish traders. Ecclesiastics, as well as barons, sold the children of their serfs.

As Europe advanced in intelligence this supply ceased as a matter of peaceable merchandise, but the Barbary

corsairs continued to satisfy the demand by the captures they made at sea. The advancing maritime power of Europe eventually, however, closed that source. As long as this forced immigration lasted, the resulting contamination was insignificant; but, as the labor-necessities of the country were imperative, the African slave-trade was reopened, and negroes were brought from Guinea. The history of Morocco should be studied by all who take an interest in the future of our Southern States: it shows well the progress of such affairs. The higher classes led a life of Sybarite gratification. In the Nile garden of the emperor luxury was carried to its last extreme. The tables were spread with costly delicacies; in the harems the mattresses were stuffed with roses. The menial offices of the community demanded a slave supply. Negroes from the interior were at first introduced as laborers, but soon contending competitors for sovereign power found it to their interest to employ them as troops. Experience showed that they made effective soldiers. Docile until they had learned their strength, they became at last mutinous in their demands for plenty of pay and plunder. They gained power in the government. Whole colonies of them were now introduced; towns were built for them, lands assigned. They readily adopted the Mohammedan faith. A mortal adulteration set in through concubinage with the negro women.

I may quote the following sentence from my work on the Future Civil Policy of America: "It is not consistent with the prosperity of a nation to permit heterogeneous mixtures of races that are physiologically far apart. Their inferior product becomes a dead weight on the body politic. If Italy was for a thousand years after the extinction of the true Roman race a scene of anarchy, its hybrid inhabit-

Negro slavery in Morocco.

The impolicy of blood-contamination.

ants being unable to raise it from its degradation, how indescribably deplorable must the condition be when there has been a mortal adulteration with African blood."

When thus we see, in zones so favored by Nature as is this North African, a debased population, we may suspect a contamination with vile blood, or a forced depression through the tyranny of a military power.

From history, therefore, we learn that the climate-zone we proposed for consideration—a zone embracing our Southern States—is congenial to the development of very high qualities in man. The annals of various races who have been brought upon it during more than twenty-five hundred years confirm that conclusion. It has been the scene of the grandest military achievements—of the noblest intellectual attainments. When they are under no excitement, its inhabitants listlessly submit to the heat, declining whatever exertions they can avoid, doing nothing for themselves that may be done for them by another. Hence it has ever been a zone of forced labor. Society upon it tends spontaneously to decomposition into a grade that seeks to command, and a grade that is compelled to obey. In the higher caste, under a deceptive listlessness, violent emotions are concealed; an imperious spirit is engendered that brooks no control, and will be satisfied with nothing but mastery. In one respect particularly does this zone, however, show inferiority—in the artistic perception of the beautiful. All along its track, from the Atlantic Ocean eastward to the banks of the Indus, are to be seen grand architectural remains—some like the Egyptian Pyramids—eternal ruins. But it was reserved for the nations of a colder clime to excel in sculpture and painting. Not in Egypt or Palmyra—not in Carthage, or Tyre, or Assyria, but in Greece and Italy, could the chisel and the pencil express by their work living men. The zone we

Summary of its social condition.

have considered appreciates with justice the good and the true, but not the beautiful.

To the foregoing illustration, drawn from the zone of the Southern Atlantic States in its course across the Old World, I may, perhaps, profitably add some remarks respecting the distribution of the negro race.

To what cause shall we impute the natural absence of the negro on this continent? If he be only a modified man—modified in the hottest of all climates—why is he not met with indigenously in America?

Cause of the absence of indigenous negroes in America.

The principles I have been explaining give us at once a singular and a satisfactory answer.

If we leave the African Mediterranean shore, and advance to the south, we pass through bands of population sensibly becoming darker, save when a disturbance arises by reason of the topographical elevation. On the north of the equator, the negro land is not reached until we are within 25° of latitude. The true negro occupies a zone crossing through the continent west and east. The

Track of the warmth equator.

warmth equator, which, however, does not coincide with the geographical equator, marks out his maximum development. The warmth equator, as seen on map, page 112, enters Africa along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea; then, rising to about 15° , it crosses the continent, escaping from its eastern promontory at Cape Guardafui; it intersects the most southerly portions of Hindostan; then, crossing the earth's equator, it passes through the midst of the Eastern Archipelago, and, returning through America, traverses our continent at its narrowest point, the Isthmus of Panama.

Examining the zone marked out by this line, and designated as negro land, it will be found that the negro characteristics of its inhabitants are not in all parts devel-

oped in equal intensity. The maximum is in the Guinea countries; and thence, across the continent to the east, the physiognomy improves. The negro characteristics are intense blackness of the skin, woolly hair, thick lips, gaping nostrils, and a receding skull. But the negro aspect is not limited to the African continent; it is continued through the Indian into the Pacific Ocean, north and south of the equator of warmth, in a zone of several degrees. Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, New Guinea, and part of Australia, lie in this zone. In these various countries one or more of the characteristics above mentioned predominate. Of some of their people the hair is not woolly; of some, the lips are thin and the nose projecting; of some, the form of the skull indicates a great superiority over the West African tribes; but, whatever these modifications may be, the black races of the Pacific present, in their general appearance, so striking a negro aspect, that they have by all travelers been classed with that tribe. Of one of these nations, Dampier, the early navigator, speaks as "shock curl-pated New-Guinea negroes."

Physiological characteristics of the negro.

Geographical distribution of the negro type.

The recession of the Mediterranean Sea from the desert of Sahara, and its contraction within its present boundaries, had doubtless much to do with the possibility of negro life. It at the same time curtailed the glaciers of Europe, raising by many degrees the temperature of that continent, and rendered more intense the mean heat of the interior of Africa. That continent has experienced changes of level of a character analogous to those described in Chapter II. as occurring in America. The date of these movements is recent, geologically speaking, though long anterior to the appearance of man. Had the Mediterranean retained its old boundaries, the negro type of man would have never been brought into existence.

Effect of the recession of the Mediterranean Sea.

Now, if we observe the position of the warmth equator in America, it crosses our continent near the Isthmus of Panama, where the land is not more than fifty-one miles wide; but its range through Central Africa is more than 4000 miles.

Track of the
warmth equator in
America.

The great Arabian and Jewish physicians of the Middle Ages, who, from their residence, were thoroughly familiar with the African tribes, and who, rejecting the suggestion of Herodotus that men were created at different times, received it as an incontrovertible fact that all human beings were descended from one original pair. They imputed varieties of complexion altogether to climate, and affirmed that the white man, exposed in Africa for five or six hundred years, would assume the negro aspect. They held that the converse change from blackness to paleness occurred very much more slowly. In my work on Physiology I have shown how darkness of complexion is connected with the action of the liver, and that the secretion of black pigment into the cells of the skin takes place under the influence of a high temperature and moisture. The conditions for the production of the negro did not exist in America. There was no topographical expansion sufficient at Panama. The construction of Central America is the converse of that of Central Africa; the Caribbean and Mexican Seas replace the sands of Sahara and the pestilential everglades of Soudan. In Africa the winter isothermal line of 55° marks out the true boundary of negro life. In America that line skirts the southern edge of the Gulf States. It is plain, then, that, were it not for the artificial climate created by civilization, the negro would be an exotic in all the domain of the republic except in the southern verge of Texas and Louisiana, and in the peninsula of Florida.

Metamorphosis of
the negro.

Limits of negro life
in America.

I might continue these illustrations of the control of climate over the complexion, constitution, habits, and thoughts of man, and of the prophetic indications we may gather from a conjoint study of nature and history, but one example more must suffice.

What is the reason that in the earth's southern hemisphere no great man has ever yet appeared?

The January isothermal line of 41° , seen on map, page 112, passing through what are known in America as the Border States, leaves our coast near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay.

Illustration from
the southern hem-
isphere.

In its path across the Atlantic it is pushed upward by the Gulf Stream through nearly thirty degrees of latitude. Gaining the British Islands, it descends in a southeasterly direction, separating the Protestant and Catholic portions of Ireland from one another. As it pursues

its way through Europe, it has on one side Spain, Southern France, Sardinia, Sicily, Italy, Greece; on the other, Scotland, England, Northeastern France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany. So far, therefore, as the Continent of Europe is concerned, it separates the countries of intellectual activity from those of intellectual repose. Leaving Europe at Constantinople, it passes through the capital of Persia, and in the far East bisects the Chinese Empire. It may therefore be regarded as the axis of a zone a few degrees wide, upon which, in Europe and Asia, all great men have appeared.

Instructed by that remark, if we now turn to the southern hemisphere, on the same map, we can not fail being impressively struck with the fact that the January isothermal of 41° is altogether a sea-line. It touches the land at no point.

It is a sea-line in
the South.

The greater land surface of the northern hemisphere gives to it the greater heat. It carries the warmth equator north of the terrestrial equator, and completely disturbs the geographical order of climates.

That greater land expansion has been one of the determining conditions of civilization. It is only when natural circumstances favor that man can rise above the savage state. So long as he is oppressed with the cares of life, and has to maintain a combat with the austerities of a winter climate, or is compelled to yield unresistingly to the fervor of tropical heats, his life is necessarily animal, not intellectual. He differs in these particulars in no respect from the plants of which we have spoken on a former page (88). As with them, his zone of best development has a hot and cold side, beyond neither of which can he transgress with impunity.

Though it can not be said that the southern hemisphere has ever yet produced a man who has left his impress on the human race, or permanently affected its history, it must not be forgotten that the germs of civilization had taken deep root in Peru. Local circumstances, in many respects like those that produced the same result in ancient Egypt, were here undoubtedly the auspicious agents: among them may particularly be mentioned the rainless condition of an important portion of both countries. As I have shown in my work on the Intellectual Development of Europe, that rainless condition indirectly induced certainty in agriculture, thereby giving to man a remission from the cares of the future, an opportunity of turning from the low gratification of animal instincts to the improvement of his mind.

Effect of the greater land expansion in the northern hemisphere.

Effect of rainless regions illustrated by Egypt and Peru.

SECTION II.

OF THE AMERICAN POPULATION—COLONIZATION AND DIFFUSION WESTWARD.

CHAPTER VII.

COLONIZATION BY SPAIN AND FRANCE.

Spanish colonization, so far as the republic is concerned, was only of minor and indirect influence. It was chiefly felt through a disturbance in the value of the precious metals, and the consequent promotion of commercial and maritime enterprise. Through the diminution it occasioned in Indian life, and the demand it made for a greater labor supply, it led to the establishment of the African slave-trade.

French colonization failed both in its industrial and religious aspects. Its chief results were the geographical exploration of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi Valleys. It made no impression on the character of Indian life, which was based on the state-rights principle. It merged eventually in English colonization.

IN the Introductory Chapter it has been remarked that the scientific treatment of historical problems requires the consideration of two things—Nature and Man.

On the foregoing pages I have completed what, perhaps, is necessary for the present purpose on the first of these topics, and now, turning to the second, am brought more particularly to the special portion of my work.

In this I do not propose to enter on the details of American history, but only to contemplate its most expressive features, making such a selection of well-known facts as seem to be best adapted to the purpose of affording a true and striking representation of American life.

OF THE COLONIAL, OR PREPARATORY PERIOD IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

The colonization of North America may be considered

as having been conducted by three western European nations, Spain, France, England. For though Spain, France, and England, colonize North America. others, such as Sweden, by its settlements on the Delaware, and Holland, by its establishments in New York, participated in the movement, the share taken by them was so subordinate as scarcely to influence the result. Portugal, partly by accident and partly through ecclesiastical discipline, was excluded from these adventures—by accident, because she gained rights in South America through the discovery of Brazil by her navigator Cabral, who, in an attempt to double the Cape of Good Hope, had been brought by storms upon that coast eight years after the first voyage of Columbus; by ecclesiastical discipline, because, in consequence of the bull of Pope Alexander VI. (1493), the then line of no magnetic variation was established as a geographical boundary between Spain and Portugal, and the latter country satisfied her enterprise by doubling the South African Cape to seek the wealth of India.

The development of ocean navigation in contradistinction to coast navigation destroyed the commercial system of Europe, and transferred mercantile activity from Upper Italy to those nations that have a front upon the Atlantic. This epoch is also distinguished by the important circumstance that commerce displaced ecclesiasticism as the chief civilizing agent.

But if in this manner the voyage of Columbus—by opening the ocean—acted as a cause, it was itself the consequence of a gradual progress of ideas incident to the general intellectual development of Europe.

In the colonization of America Italy took no part, though the discoverer of the continent was a Genoese by birth. The lines of trade and commercial dépôts, established for centuries by her merchant princes, were in an

Decline of the commerce of Italy. easterly direction. She found it impossible to surrender them, and never made any attempt to accommodate herself to the great mercantile revolution transpiring.

Our subject, therefore, now presents three topics for consideration: 1st. The action of the Spaniards on the South; 2d. The settlement of the French at the North, and their movements in the Mississippi Valley; 3d. The colonization of the Atlantic coast by the English. Though the last proved to be the most important by nearly eliminating both the others, it is nevertheless necessary to give attention to them.

FIRST. *Of the settlement and influence of the Spaniards at the South.*

Columbus died in the belief that the lands he had discovered were a part of Asia. Many years elapsed before their true geographical relation was determined, and the vast distance across the Pacific Ocean appreciated. Meantime there were incessant attempts to find a break through the rocky range that chains North and South America to one another, to discover some strait or some river through which a passage might be made into the Great South Sea. That sea had been discovered by Balboa. Wading in it up to his knees, with his sword in one hand and the Spanish flag in the other, he had claimed it for Castile. These attempts eventually furnished a knowledge of the coast-line of the Mexican Gulf, and of the beautiful islands it incloses.

Operations of the Spaniards in the Mexican seas.

Persisting until they gained their object, the Spaniards at length, under Magellan, in that greatest of all voyages, the first circumnavigation of the earth, found a passage to Asia through the strait that still bears his name. Emulating this splendid example, the English, less fortunate, under Cabot,

Attempts of the Spaniards and English to find a passage to Asia.

Hudson, Frobisher, and other navigators, fruitlessly tried to force their ships through the arctic ice. A sea-way to India was hoped for in spite of all disappointments. Encouragement was found in even the most trifling incidents. Thus, when the little Chickahominy, that descends through its swampy bed to James River from the northwest—the Chickahominy destined for a blood-stained future—was first discovered by Virginian adventurers, it was held to be beyond all doubt the long-sought mysterious passage.

The Mexican archipelago, with its emerald shores and palmy isles, traversed and ransacked in every direction, Spain, from her central position in Cuba, commenced an exploration and attempted a colonization of Florida, dis-

Discovery of the
peninsula of Flor-
ida.

covered by Ponce de Leon in 1512. This peninsula, rivaling in appearance the enchanting islands of the Gulf, presents a shore chiefly composed of coral sand. Deceived by its insidious beauty, and ignorant of the pestiferous miasms engendered in its gloomy everglades, the first-comers spread abroad a rumor of its wonderful salubrity. They affirmed that they had conversed with savages who had already lived many centuries. A legend was floating among the Caribbee Indians that in this fairy land there was a fountain, of which whoever tasted, his youth was forthwith renewed.

Romance, therefore, led to the first Spanish attempt at colonization of the main land. The unsuccessful settlement of Ponce de Leon was succeeded by the exploring expedition of Narvaez. But legends of the elixir of life, the waters of oblivion, the land of immortality, were soon followed by realities of crime. As early as 1520 the Spaniards made voyages to the coast of South Carolina

Slave expeditions
of the Spaniards.

for the purpose of stealing Indians for slaves. Their atrocious proceedings in the islands

were already exterminating the native population. The expedition of Ferdinand de Soto, undertaken in 1539, though partly for exploration, was also partly to secure a supply of slaves. Conducted by men who had been in the army of Pizarro at the conquest of Peru, and who were therefore familiar with every kind of brutality, it carried with it bloodhounds and chains. Without any remorse, and as a warning to his comrades, the captive who resisted or tried to escape was killed on the spot and thrown to the dogs. De Soto traversed

The expedition of De Soto.

Georgia, saw the Appalachian Mountains, explored his way through Alabama, descended to Mobile; then, directing his course to the northwest, it has been affirmed that he crossed the Mississippi above the mouth of the Arkansas; but, disappointed in his expectations of finding gold, and becoming entangled in interminable forests and marshes, he retraced his steps in despair, and, dying of fever, was buried in the waters of the great river.

The object of the Spaniards in these operations on the Gulf coast was to obtain the precious met-

Ascertainment by the Spaniards of the distribution of the precious metals in America.

als. Colonization was quite a secondary affair. In a short time they had seized and conveyed away the stock previously collected by Indian curiosity or industry. They became satisfied at length that the rich mineral regions were not on the north, but on the west of the Gulf, and commenced working the Mexican mines. Remorseless exactions of

Their cruelties exhaust the labor supply.

labor, unparalleled in cruelty since the time when Rome carried on similar operations in Spain by slaves, soon created a demand for more men. Every creek and river, as far as the coast of North Carolina, was haunted by the slave-captains for a supply.

Meantime some feeble attempts of French Huguenots to establish themselves on the coast of Florida led to

Rival settlements
of the French in
Florida.

counter operations on the part of Spain. The French gave to the countries on the north of their settlement the name of Carolina, in honor of their king, Charles IX. The Spaniards, under Menendez, who had collected 2500 emigrants and some African slaves, founded St. Augustine, the oldest town in the United States. Collisions, provoked partly by religious animosities and partly by acts of piracy committed by the French, soon ensued. The Spaniards massacred their antagonists, not as Frenchmen, but as Calvinists; the French retaliated without mercy. But it was found that the military possession of Cuba was decisive of the strife, and in the end Spain was left in undisturbed possession of the country.

Commencement of
the African slave-
trade.

Already the atrocious destruction of Indian life and the consequent demand for human labor was leading Western Europe into a great crime, the African slave-trade. In the transactions on the Florida coast, just referred to, the English slave-merchant, Sir John Hawkins, appears. Menendez himself had undertaken to import for his colony at St. Augustine five hundred African slaves. The foundations of that town were laid by negro hands.

Commercial influ-
ence of the Span-
ish movements.

Spanish colonization of the domain of the republic is, therefore, historically of very subordinate importance. Politically it may be considered as insignificant. Very different, however, was it with the Spanish subjugation of Mexico. It produced a powerful impression on both worlds, the Old and the New. In the latter it destroyed Indian civilization, and went far to exterminate Indian life. In the former it profoundly affected the entire commercial system.

Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, shows that the value of silver had remained stationary for long previously to the middle of the fourteenth century, but that

Sudden increase in the value of silver in the fifteenth century.

from that time to the beginning of the sixteenth it exhibited an extraordinary rise. Its purchasing power, as measured by the price of wheat, fully doubled. This enhancement continued until about 1570. Several causes were probably concerned in producing it. The extensive commerce of Upper Italy with Asiatic countries occasioned an unceasing drain. As far back as the times of the first Cæsars it had been recognized that the silver of Europe steadily found its way to India. Moreover, the interior commercial activity which was beginning to pervade all Europe required a large amount of coin.

It is followed by a decline, due to the Mexican mines.

But the same author shows that in the next seventy years (1570–1640) a very important change occurred. The value of silver declined to about one third or one fourth, the minimum being reached about 1636. There can be no doubt that this was due to the large supplies furnished by the North and South American mines. From that time there was again witnessed another rise, which continued well marked throughout the following century. These conclusions, though for the most part deduced from English history, hold good, there is reason to suppose, for Europe generally.

A second rise then occurs, due to increasing commercial activity.

The relative value of silver and gold changes.

The American yield of silver was at this time greater than that of gold. Before the discovery of America the value of fine gold to fine silver was regulated in the different mints of Europe in the proportion of one to ten or twelve. Gradually the proportion changed, and in the seventeenth century it was as one to fifteen. The relative value of silver was therefore decreasing. The annual importations of silver into Spain and Portugal were in the middle of the last century somewhat over a million of pounds weight; of gold it was about fifty thousand pounds weight. How-

ever, it is to be remarked that data have not yet been adduced for the determination of these estimates with certainty. Humboldt supposes that from the conquest of Mexico in 1521 until 1803, the total value of the silver thus produced was about two thousand millions of dollars, but this is probably an under estimate.

Humboldt's estimate of the yield of the American mines.

These oscillations in the relative value of silver and gold still continue. It has been affirmed that California and Australia yielded more gold in ten years than all the rest of the world from 1492 to 1848, that is, in 356 years. The effect of this excessive gold production has been to change, in many countries, the relation of the two metals. Thus, in France, up to 1850, gold was merchandise and silver currency; then gold became currency and silver merchandise. In Holland, Belgium, Spain, gold has been demonetized. Probably another reversal of the relative position of the two metals will shortly occur, when the great silver deposits of the United States are vigorously worked. The silver mines of Mexico, which had given an annual yield of twenty millions up to 1807, had increased their supply to forty millions in 1856.

Present oscillations in the relative value of gold and silver.

Such variations in the intrinsic value of gold ought to be steadily borne in mind by American statesmen in view of the conditions under which a large portion of the national debt, occasioned by the civil war, was contracted. The purchasing power of gold is undergoing a decline.

On the North American continent at the time of the Spanish colonization of Florida, the centre of mineral wealth was Mexico. There, also, was the centre of population. Through the plains of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, De Soto sought vainly for gold. There is reason to believe that the Indian population of Mexico, when Cortez invaded it,

Indian population of North America at the time of Cortez.

was not less than ten millions of souls. But Mr. Bancroft estimates that, at the same epoch, the Indian population of the Atlantic region, from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence, did not exceed 180,000 souls. These wandering tribes, therefore, constituted a very insignificant portion of the Indian life of the continent, of which the vast expanse might almost be considered as an uninhabited solitude.

The Spanish mining operations rapidly exhausted the human supplies of the West India Islands, and seriously diminished those of Mexico itself. It soon became apparent that the Atlantic and Gulf countries could not be made to meet the demand. Such slave expeditions as those of Cortereal upon the coast, or of De Soto through the heart of the country, were practically of no value.

Under these circumstances, the Spanish government perceived that this wasteful expenditure of life must be stopped; perhaps its action was hastened by finding that the conscience of Christendom was shocked at the horrible atrocity that had been perpetrated. When Las Casas accused his countrymen "before the tribunal of the universe" of having destroyed fifteen millions of Indians by their avarice and tyranny, no one denied the charge. Urged thus partly by moral considerations and partly compelled as a matter of policy, that government attempted the organization of Indian labor. In Mexico, under its native emperors, all men were born free. Prisoners of war, convicted criminals and debtors, might become slaves; but so mild was the system that the slave himself might hold property; nay, more, he might even be the owner of slaves.

The plan adopted by the court of Madrid was this (it, and its consequences, ought to be attentively studied by all interested in the present attempt at the organiza-

Its dreadful diminution.

The Spanish government attempts the organization of Indian labor.

The system inaugurated, and its failure.

tion of negro labor in the Southern States): The Indians were converted into serfs, and permanently attached to the soil. They were arranged on estates (*encomiendas*), and forbidden to work for themselves; their labor must be for the Spaniards (*conquistadores*). For this each Indian was entitled to maintenance and wages, amounting to about twenty-five dollars per annum. The tribes were divided into sections, of which some contained as many as one hundred families. These sections were assigned to Spaniards.

Under this system mining operations exhibited no development; in fact, many of the best veins were abandoned. The tendency was to fall by degrees into a shiftless agriculture, carried on in the *haciendas* or farms. Industry declined. No more work was done than was absolutely necessary. The master and the peon were equally lazy. But such is the influence that the possession of slaves exerts on those who have once owned them that great difficulties were encountered in enforcing the regulations. The slave-master could not reconcile himself to the payment of labor which heretofore had cost him nothing; he could not bring himself to consider his slave as a free or even freed man; he was reluctant to surrender his accustomed idea, that between himself and his laborer there was no power, no judge but God. Individually or by combinations, clandestine acts of injustice were continually perpetrated. The Indian was cheated out of his wages, and too often treated with brutal violence. The tribunals, under instructions from Madrid, generally acted with impartiality, but the intention of the government was thwarted.

In such a lazy life the *conquistadores* in all directions became extinct, and the *encomiendas* fell into confusion. The viceroys and provincial councils (*audiencias*) did what they could to protect the Indians, who were hated

and despised by the Spaniards. Even up to the time that Spanish dominion in Mexico was overthrown, these sentiments lost none of their force; the European Spaniard was determined to keep both the Indian and the Creole in subjection. It was asserted that "no native American should participate in the government so long as there was a mule-driver in La Mancha or a cobbler in Castile to represent Spanish ascendancy."

SECOND. *Of the settlement of the French at the North, and their movements in the Mississippi Valley.*

The codfish, annually migrating from the Polar Seas, swarms in incredible numbers on the Banks of Newfoundland. It seeks those shoals partly for the sake of the abundant food they furnish, and partly to avoid the hot waters of the Gulf Stream, a current it dares not cross.

In less than a century after the discovery of America, the Banks were frequented by Western Europeans in pursuit of this fish. So common an affair had an Atlantic passage become, that there were men in this occupation who had made the voyage forty times.

A fountain of immortality, and fabulous rivers flowing through golden sands, allured Spain to attempt the colonization of Florida. Less romantic and less splendid, but far more important in its results, the cod-fishery of Newfoundland led France to the settlement of Canada, and to the exploration of the River Mississippi to its outlet in the Gulf of Mexico.

French missionaries accompanied French mariners in these transatlantic voyages to the fishing-banks. The Isle of Sable, a desolate speck in the North Atlantic, afforded a first foothold to the new-comers. What a contrast between its wind-racked sands and the glorious land-

The Newfoundland fishery brings the French to America.

Preliminary attempts of Catholic missionaries at converting the Indians.

scapes that had greeted Spain in the West Indian archipelago !

The Catholic authorities at the French court soon found that the Franciscan brethren who, under the protection of Champlain, the governor of Canada, had commenced their labor of love in seeking converts among the savages, and had already in part explored the Valley of the St. Lawrence, might be advantageously replaced by Jesuits. Missionaries of that order speedily pushed their way into the country of the Hurons, on the north of Lake Erie, establishing there what recommended itself to Catholic Europe as a Huron Christendom. Passing thence to the northwest, they explored the vicinity of Lake Michigan. This was in 1638. Three years later, Father Raymbault, in a birch-bark canoe, reached Sault St. Mary, eventually losing his life in the cause. Many of his comrades were murdered by the Mohawks, some being scalped and tortured, some burned to death in a rosin fire, some scalded with boiling water. As fast as one missionary fell, another stepped into his place.

The French government sends out Jesuit missionaries.

The Jesuits explore the Great Lakes.

They discover and prepare to explore the Mississippi.

More fortunate than his brethren, Father Allouez, passing by the Pictured Rocks, gained the western shore of Lake Superior. From some Illinois Indians who had wandered to his mission, he learned that a great river flowed through their territory to the south. They called it the Missepi.

About midsummer, 1673, Father Marquette, with six other Frenchmen and two Indians, carrying their canoes on their backs, crossed over the ridge that divides the waters which flow into the Atlantic from those that descend into the Great Valley. Embarking on the Wisconsin, they followed its stream, and struck the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien. Landing from time to time, they explored the eastern edge of Iowa, and preached the Gospel

in Illinois. They passed the confluence of the Pekitanoné, known now by the less beautiful name of Missouri. The country was full of buffaloes. They descended past the mouth of the Ohio, and traced the great river in its southerly course for about eleven hundred miles until they reached the Arkansas. This was the limit of their exploration.

Commerce soon followed in the track that had been opened by religion. La Salle, who had been brought up in a Jesuit seminary, but who had established himself on Lake Ontario as a fur-trader, resolved to complete the discoveries of Marquette, and trace the Mississippi to its outlet. At that time the course of the river was very doubtful; some affirmed that it flowed westwardly into the Gulf of California; some that its course was to the east, in Virginia; some that its outlet was in Florida; and others, with Marquette, that it flowed to the south, and emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. In any event, its exploration was of the utmost value to commerce. If it opened into the Pacific, the problem of a passage to Asia was solved; if into the Atlantic or Gulf, the northern canoe transportation, so difficult and so tedious, was exchanged for an easy sea voyage, and the heart of the American continent thrown open to trade. La Salle made his way down the Illinois in 1682, descending the Mississippi—at that time called Del Espiritu Santo, and also the Colbert—to the Gulf of Mexico. He claimed the territory through which he passed for France, and called it, after her monarch, Louisiana. France thus held the great central valley of America, a vast territory comprising what is now known as Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, part of Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas. She even laid claim to all the country through which the affluents of the Mississippi descend. In 1700 an attempt

They solve the problem of the course of the Mississippi.

French policy respecting Louisiana.

at colonization was made by Iberville; the bubble Mississippi Company of John Law added to the population. In 1731 the company sold its claims to the French government. In 1762 the French ceded the country to Spain. In 1800, Napoleon, then First Consul, induced Spain to retrocede it to France. In 1803, fearing that it might be seized by England, he sold it to the United States for fifteen millions of dollars.

The explorers of the Great Valley were thus French ecclesiastics. French names still linger all through the Mississippi. Though Pinedo first discovered the track of the river in 1519, and De Vaca crossed it in 1530–35, and Ferdinand de Soto, as was affirmed—though doubt has been cast on the statement—had done the same near the mouth of the Arkansas, the remnant of his expedition passing down to the Gulf, so completely was the memory of these events lost, that when La Salle was sent out by the French government with a fleet in 1684 to make his way up the river and colonize Louisiana, the undertaking failed altogether because the mouth of the stream could not be found.

La Salle's attempted expedition for the colonization of the Valley.

His ships wandered westwardly to Matagorda Bay. Temporary settlements were thus made in Texas. A canoe expedition for the discovery of the river was unsuccessful, and La Salle was assassinated by his mutinous companions in a desperate attempt to reach Canada on foot.

It has often excited surprise that, considering the energy with which they were conducted, these French missionary expeditions were productive of so little religious result. There was nothing answering to the success attending the labors of the Society of Jesus in Paraguay; nothing whatever answering to the conversion of Europe in the early days of the Catholic Church. Neither Catholic nor Protestant could do any thing with these Indians. Jesuit and Fran-

Cause of the failure of the French missionary enterprises.

ciscan, Quaker, Moravian, and Puritan, labored among them in vain.

In the case of South America, it is affirmed that out of nearly 1,700,000 aborigines, 1,600,000 embraced Christianity, less than 100,000 remaining in the savage state. Of the latter, 66,000 belong to the Araucanian and Patagonian branches.

In North America, upon the line of the Mississippi, and in the countries east of it, the Indian population, as we have seen, was very sparse. It was divided into nations and tribes, who kept up interminable and bloody wars. In character these Indians approached the Araucanian and Patagonian tribes of South America, on whom, as we have said, little or no impression was ever made.

There are few things more worthy of the curious contemplation of an American statesman than the political condition of these Indian tribes at the time of the French exploration of the continent. They vividly represent the fatal action of the principle known to him as state-rights. In South Carolina there were the Uchees and Catawbias; in North Carolina, the Tuscaroras; in Virginia, the Powhatan Confederacy; in Maryland, the Nanticokes; in Pennsylvania, the Delawares; in New Jersey, the Leni Lenape; in New York, the Onondagos, Oneidas, Mohawks, Manhattans; in the Eastern States, the Mohegans, Pequods, Massachusetts, Narragansetts; in Ohio, the Eries; in Michigan, the Ottawas; in Wisconsin, the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes; in Illinois, the Pottawatomies and Illinois; in Kentucky, the Shawnees; in Tennessee, the Chickasaws and Cherokees; in Mississippi, the Natchez and Choctaws; in Alabama, the Muscogees; in Florida, the Seminoles.

Each of these nations held its own territory in its own right, governing itself according to its own maxims, declaring peace and war against its

The doctrine of state-rights among the aboriginal Indians.

Its demoralizing and fatal effects.

neighbors at its own pleasure. They therefore present a spectacle of the results to which such principles lead—an unsettled social life, interminable warfare, and its inevitable consequence, an avoidance of industrial pursuits, and a sparse population kept down by a high death-rate.

On the contrary, in Mexico, where an advance had been made beyond these low, rudimentary political ideas, and the value of concentration had been discerned, a population of from ten to fifteen millions had collected round its political centre, and was living in a condition of civilization equal to that of the most advanced nations of Europe. It had attained to forms of life, religious conceptions, and ideas of statesmanship analogous to those of the Old World. It was destroyed because it had no swift beast of burden such as the horse, and no mechanical agent answering to gunpowder. The civilization of Mexico was a civilization without a vehicle or a plow.

The progress of Mexico under her system of centralization.

Had there survived on the continent of North America but one of the three species of camel, or of the four species of horse, that became extinct just previously to the appearance of man, the social condition would have been very different. As it was, even with this great disadvantage, the Indians on the eastern incline of the Mississippi Valley, under the influence exerted upon them by the rivers of their country, were slowly attaining to better political conceptions. Confederacies were springing up among them. They had learned the value of the calumet, or pipe of peace.

The descending steps from state sovereignty to county sovereignty, village sovereignty, individual sovereignty, are successive and inevitable. Under other but equivalent names they are recognized in Indian polity. Each savage was animated by a passion for personal liberty, asserting his own right to follow his natural propensities.

There was no such thing as domestic discipline; children were never trained—they were educated by Nature. The boy grew up into a mere warrior, leading a life of idleness except when engaged in hunting or war. There being no slaves, the women were turned into drudges, and compelled to perform not only the needful duties of the wigwam, but also the labors of a wretched agriculture. Enveloped in thin strips of bark, the infant was carried by its mother on her back; if she died, her living child was buried with her. Every where polygamy was permitted; in the colder climates it was less frequently practiced. No virtuous ideas — no refined sentiments could exist where men, women, and children dwelt and slept together in the same smoky wigwam. The Northern tribes were decimated by famine every winter; they sat shivering in their huts, or sought in the woods a precarious support on moss and bark. If the pressure was severe, the aged and the sick were put to death.

Two occupations only were considered worthy of a man—the public council and war. To the council every one was admitted; every one might deliver his own ideas as he pleased, or express his opposition: Traditional opinions descended so feebly as to be almost of no weight. Movements were determined by the passion or caprice of the moment. There was a lawless life, a hatred of restraint, an impatience at prohibitory rules and forms of government. Each man asserted his own rights and avenged his own wrongs. Subordination was accepted only because it was conducive to individual ease. A chief did not necessarily attain his position either by force of merit or by right of birth; he was often merely tolerated. As must be the case through the influence of climate, the Southern nations displayed a tendency to aristocratic distinctions. The Natchez, and others who inhabited what are now

Individualism carried to its extreme among the Atlantic Indians.

known as the Cotton States, exhibited a striking contrast in this respect to the Indians of the Great Lakes and those of New England. This contrast of the aboriginal nations was remarked in La Salle's voyage. Father Zenobe describes the Indians of Illinois, in the vicinity of Peoria, as addicted to gross vices, and not to be impressed by religious teaching; those of Arkansas as being more gay, generous, hospitable; those still farther south as advanced much more in civilization, their cabins well constructed, embellished, and furnished, their public occasions conducted with much ceremonial by officials in robes of white, and servitors with fans of white plumes.

Their improved civilization as they lived more and more toward the south.

On the Mexican plateau the aristocratic tendency was manifested by the establishment of monarchical institutions. The imperial government of the Aztecs was sustained by a powerful standing army. It had an organized priesthood, whose creed and ritual displayed the inevitable phases through which the opinions of human societies pass. Justice was administered to communities consisting of many millions of people by judges holding their offices for life, and independent of the court. The laws of the realm were embodied in a peculiar form of writing. An advanced social condition was indicated by monastic institutions, a postal service, trades of all kinds, market-days and fairs, colleges of music, a censorship on philosophical compositions, luxurious banquets, tapestries of feather-work, fountains, cascades, baths, statues. The Mexicans had theatres and shows, and all the busy industry, relaxations, and amusements of civilized life.

Mexico the centre of North American Indian civilization.

Such was the geographical distribution and political condition of the Indian tribes on this continent at the time of its discovery. I may re-

It was the centre of Indian life.

peat the remark previously made, that the centre of this population was in Mexico, the outlying volume of it being so sparse, so insignificant, that in a general survey it is hardly worth notice. As a striking illustration, it may be mentioned that the number of men employed in the single work of the construction of the imperial Aztec palace at Tezcucó was greater than the entire number of human beings, men, women, and children, east of the Mississippi River.

Then it is not wonderful that the Jesuit missionaries failed in their undertaking. There was not a population dense enough for them to operate upon. By degrees they themselves detected the misconception under which they had labored. They speak of the "appalling journeys through absolute solitudes;" they represent their vocation as "a chase after a savage who was scarce ever to be found." The result of the French movement was, then, not the civilization of the Indian tribes, but the geographical exploration of a long line, marked out for the most part by the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi Rivers, with colonies at its extremities in Canada and Louisiana. In 1688 the total French population of the North American continent was 11,249 persons.

Result of the
French operations
in the Mississippi
Valley.

At this time, therefore, the French completely hemmed in the English settlements; they practically laid claim to the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. The collisions between the French and the English colonists in 1690-97, and in 1702-13, were very appropriately named King William's and Queen Anne's Wars, for they were occasioned by the policy of the mother country. The same remark applies to the war that was closed in 1748 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. There was more significance in that of 1754, because it arose from the pressure

The pressure of the
French colonies on
the English Atlantic
settlements, and
the resulting col-
lisions.

of the English Atlantic settlements against the chain of military posts established by the French to maintain their communications between Canada and Louisiana. The French, on that occasion, claimed the whole country between the line of the Ohio and the Alleghany Ridge, thus virtually compressing the English on the Atlantic border. This French war, as it is styled, involved great American interests, and is celebrated in American history not only

Cession by France
of the St. Lawrence
Valley to the Eng-
lish.

because it introduced Washington as a military commander, but because it determined the destiny of America through the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, the conquest of Canada, and eventual cession, at the peace of Paris in 1763, of the Valley of the St. Lawrence and its dependencies to the English crown.

I.—K

CHAPTER VIII.

COLONIZATION OF THE ATLANTIC COAST BY THE ENGLISH.

Two principles animated the English colonization of America: 1st. Material interests; 2d. Ideas. The former were concerned in the colonization of the South, the latter in that of the North.

Southern society was from the beginning based upon class distinctions; it accepted slavery with avidity, and tended to aristocratic forms. Northern was based upon equal individual rights, corporeal and mental; it tended to individualism, and to democratic institutions.

The English join in maritime adventures. THE course of events in England, particularly during the reign of Henry VII., had prepared that country to join with vigor in the maritime adventures and commercial undertakings in which Western Europe had engaged. The English colonization of the Atlantic front of America eventually obliterated completely the influence of France and Spain throughout that region.

Principles of colonization in the North and in the South. Two distinct principles animated the English movements. The colonization of the South was inspired by material interests, that of the North by ideas. The great communities which have descended from those immigrations exhibit to this day, in a modified but striking manner, the peculiarities of their respective ancestral stocks. These peculiarities have been brought into strong relief by the civil war.

Of Southern colonization; it is inspired by material interests. I shall consider the immigration conducted upon material interests—the Southern immigration—first.

We have seen that the incentive to the movements of Spain in America was gold, and that of

France the fisheries. The incentive of England was tobacco.

Tobacco, so called from the island of Tobago, where it was first obtained, was carried to England by Sir Francis Drake, and brought into fashionable use by Sir Walter Raleigh. A "Counterblast," published against it by King James I., added not a little to its celebrity. Less noxious in its narcotic effect than opium, so long employed in Eastern countries, it is affirmed that "it calms the agitations of our corporeal frame, and soothes the anxieties and distresses of the mind." This leaf is equally welcome to the Indian in his wigwam, to the Laplander in his snow hut, to the Egyptian in his sands. It consoles the polished European in his hours of relaxation.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the whole Atlantic coast, from Halifax to Cape Fear, passed under the designation of Virginia. James I. granted it by charter to two companies for settlement. The Southern portion was given to the London Company, the Northern to the Plymouth.

Some insignificant attempts had been made by Raleigh to colonize North Carolina. That officer entered Ocracoke Inlet, and examined Roanoke Island. In 1585 he sent an expedition in seven vessels to the latter place. It is an indication of the imperfect geographical knowledge of the time that these immigrants believed the Roanoke River had its head waters in some golden rocks by the Pacific Ocean. The walls of a great city near its fountain were affirmed to be thickly studded with pearls. This colony, unsuccessful and disheartened, was subsequently carried back to England by Drake. Another attempt was made, but before 1590 it had failed. The character of these movements is indicated by the circumstance that, by the com-

Introduction, diffusion, and uses of tobacco.

Institution of two colonizing companies, the London and the Plymouth.

Raleigh's colonization operations in North Carolina.

mand of Raleigh, Manteo, a faithful Indian chief, was created Lord Roanoke. Offshoots from the Virginia plantations established themselves in North Carolina between 1640-50.

The colonization of Virginia in 1607 was under the charter from James I. to the London Company. From that prince the chief river, yellow and wide, and lazily flowing between pine-clad banks, derives its name. An expedition established itself at Jamestown. Its character may be understood from the description of persons who followed the pioneers. They were "goldsmiths, refiners, gallants, gentlemen, rakes, and libertines." After many vicissitudes, illustrated by such romantic incidents as an expedition up the river to the site of Richmond for the discovery of the Pacific Ocean, the adventures of Captain Smith with the Indian princess Pocahontas, the valuable exploration of Chesapeake Bay, its rivers and territories, the colony nearly became extinct. So great were its misfortunes, that in six months after the departure of Smith, out of 490 persons only 60 were left. Nothing but the increasing demand for tobacco in Europe now sustained it. But that proved to be a sufficient incitement. Hunting after gold was abandoned; plantations became profitable; women were induced to emigrate from England. The colonists gladly paid 120 pounds of tobacco for a wife, 150 if she was very pretty.

Among the events of those times there was one which gave rise to fearful consequences. In August, 1620, a Dutch ship of war brought twenty negroes into the James River for sale.

The profits of the tobacco-trade insured the prosperity of the colony, which in 1648 numbered 20,000 souls. The Royalist sentiments that had characterized the first settlers still predominated in the community, which was also firmly attached to the prevailing religious prefer-

ences of the mother country ; for, though the Virginians had invited their Puritan neighbors on the North to leave their inclement abodes and settle in the more genial climate of Delaware Bay, they also resolved that no minister should be permitted to preach in Virginia except in conformity with the Church of England. It was owing to this aristocratic tendency that, after the disasters to the royal cause and the execution of King Charles, so many of the ruined nobility and clergy found refuge in Virginia. The political bearing of the colonization then taking place upon the Atlantic border is illustrated by this expatriation of Royalists to the South, and by the subsequent flight of the Regicides to the Puritan colonies of the North. The Royalist and the Regicide respectively knew where to find a welcome.

But, though it is recorded of Virginia that she was the last portion of England to resign her affection for her monarch, and submit to the commonwealth under Cromwell, she had not received from her sovereign an equivalent for her loyalty. There was a continual struggle between the king and the colony for the profits of the tobacco-trade. He desired to be sole factor, declaring it to be "his will and pleasure to have the sole pre-emption of all the tobacco." He prohibited all vessels from Virginia sailing to any ports but those of England, that he might have control of the trade.

As tobacco thus tempted Royalist officers and persons of birth attached to the Church of England to this emigration, the fur-trade led to the settlement of Maryland. Lord Baltimore and the Catholic leaders of that enterprise, repulsed in their advances by the Protestantism of Virginia, turned to the shores of Chesapeake Bay. Admonished by the intolerance that had denied them a welcome, they gave

Virginia is devoted to the king and the Church.

The contests about the tobacco-trade.

Maryland settled by liberal Catholics.

to every one, irrespective of his religious opinions, a right to settle with them. Catholics though they were, they founded their society on religious freedom, and permitted of no persecuting laws. A change very soon came over their industrial pursuits. The peltry-trade was found to be transient, its supplies inadequate, and the more profitable cultivation of tobacco took its place.

South Carolina was colonized by an association of English noblemen, under proprietary charters; their object was a land speculation. Among them were Lord Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, the Earl of Shaftesbury. Their possessions were defined by a frontage along the coasts of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and extended due west as far as the Pacific Ocean. In this ample territory they were empowered to levy troops, erect fortifications, build cities, and, it is to be particularly remarked, establish orders of nobility. Constitutions for its government were framed by the celebrated philosopher Locke. Political power was based on hereditary wealth. The social system was founded on negro slavery.

The proprietors sent out a company of emigrants in 1670, but hardly had they established themselves when they found that the Constitutions devised for them were impracticable. More suitable ones were substituted. The colony grew, not only by low emigrants sent from England, but by negro slaves brought from Africa. In a climate made congenial to them, the blacks rapidly increased; very soon they were nearly double the number of the whites. But besides these unfortunates came others of a very different stamp. On the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Huguenots emigrated from the Calvinistic districts of France, and South Carolina received a leaven of French Protestant blood.

South Carolina settled by an aristocratic association.

Character of its immigrants.

The colonial nucleus of the Southern States was, therefore, essentially an English population. The settlements of the French in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, with the exception of those at the mouth of the Mississippi, had but little political weight. The predominating development of this English nucleus is seen in the predominating use of the English tongue. Diffusion of language is an unerring measure of the spread of political influence. That the French settlements in the Mississippi Valley had no expansive force is proved by the eventual disuse of their tongue.

English character of the entire Southern colonization.

Though the actual emigrants may have been in one sense derived from all grades of English society, in another they were assorted. The civil war in England had accomplished a partition, the effects of which were perpetuated in American history. Convulsions such as those through which that country had been passing divide communities to their lowest depths; even illiterate men, who may not be able to decide intelligently the merits of a disputed point, spontaneously take sides with a party. That done, they deliver themselves up to the influences animating it, and are guided by its leaders and watchwords. No matter from what rank in life he had come, the Church and State man would hardly have seen in Massachusetts Bay a place for his immigration—the Puritan would not have preferred James River. Aristocratic influence was the motive power of Southern emigration; it sought material profit in tobacco and land speculations.

Continuous effect of former English civil dissensions.

These dissensions determine the character of the American colonization North and South.

The colonization of the North of the republic differed intrinsically from that of the South. It was inspired by an idea—freedom of thought.

Of Northern colonization—it is inspired by an idea.

Not that the austere men who asserted this intellectual right understood it in all its fullness. At first, in the face of outlawry, exile, tempest, famine, death, they only claimed it for themselves. It was by degrees they learned at length that they must concede it to others.

When, in the sixteenth century, the pent-up dissatisfaction that for ages had been fermenting against the Roman Church burst out in that great moral and intellectual revolt—the Reformation—its issue was an ecclesiastical separation of Europe north and south. On one side it was the assertion of traditional authority, on the other of the right of private judgment.

The Pontifical government had long foreseen the inevitable occurrence of this dispute, and had repeatedly put off what to it could be no other than a catastrophe. Sometimes it had accomplished this by violence, sometimes by gentler means. Pontifical Rome had effected what Imperial Rome had dreamed of, but could never realize. She was holding all Europe under her control.

But the northern nations, by force of argument and by force of arms, made good their separation. The unity that so far had obtained was broken. Two great divisions emerged, the Catholic and the Protestant.

Among those nations England had been profoundly agitated. When the inevitable result—separation from Italy—became apparent, her statesmen proceeded in the best manner they could to reorganize her ecclesiastical affairs in harmony with the new condition of things. They hoped that the English people would show the same filial reverence for the new Church of England that in times past they had shown for the old Church of Rome.

But when once the charm of authority is broken, who can renew it? When separation has been successfully

Influence of the
Reformation upon
it.

Origin of dissent in
England.

commenced, who can say where it shall stop? The principle of the right of private interpretation of the Holy Scriptures had been successfully maintained by Northern Europe. As a social guide, it still retained its full vigor unimpaired. The foresight of the Italian statesmen was justified. Decomposition could not be arrested, and as the Church of Rome had suffered by *protest*, the Church of England now suffered by *dissent*.

The Puritan asserted the right of men to interpret for themselves the Word of God. In him the Reformation advanced another step toward its logical issue. He did against England what England herself had done against Rome.

Now the particular doctrines that found favor in the eyes of the Puritan are not of special interest in the affairs which we are about to consider. The points we have to deal with are the principle that was guiding him, and the acts it led him to perform. The doctrines of the Puritan are of no historical moment, but his deeds will last as long as the world endures.

The annals of northern colonization are as follows:

Progress of Puritan colonization. In 1607 the Plymouth Company sent a colony to the mouth of the Kennebec; in 1615, John Smith, who had played such a conspicuous part in the emigration to James River, led another. Both proved failures. In 1620 the colony of Plymouth was planted by English Puritans, who came for that purpose from Holland. Eight years subsequently the colony at Salem was established, under a grant from the Plymouth Company; soon afterward Charlestown and Boston were settled. In 1692 the Plymouth colony was incorporated with Massachusetts, as had been those of Dover, Portsmouth, and Exeter, in New Hampshire, in 1641. Maine, which had been settled in 1639, was united to Massachusetts in 1652. Connecticut was first settled from Massa-

chusetts, as likewise was Rhode Island, in consequence of the persecutions befalling Roger Williams on account of his carrying the Puritan doctrines to their legitimate end.

In 1643, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a union, under the title of the United Colonies of New England, their object being mutual protection against the Dutch and the Indians. This union foreshadowed that greater Union soon to come.

The germ of Unionism in the Puritan colonies.

In the colonization of New England, Massachusetts was, therefore, the centre of action, and Puritanism the predominating element. Puritan was originally the generic designation for all those Christians who saw cause to dissent from the principles and practice of the Church of England. It was first used about 1564. As in the great European movement—the Reformation—the objective point of the protesting nations was opposition to the papacy, so in this local English movement the objective point was opposition to the Established Church. The continued action of the principle of decomposition was, however, soon manifest. The Puritans broke up into sectarian subdivisions. The Independents carried the doctrine of the Reformation a step forward, asserting the right of every congregation to judge for itself both in matters of doctrine and discipline. They therefore denied the authority of any national church whatever.

Relation of the Puritan to the English Church.

The Church of England was thus forced to adopt the policy of coercion that had been followed for many past ages by the Church of Rome. The laws of Elizabeth compelled dissentients to attend the established worship. Against the “Brownists” the punishment of death was enacted. It is said that Brown, their founder, was committed to jail thirty-two times.

That Church resorts to persecution to repress dissent.

To escape the persecution thus inflicted upon them by the Church and the sovereign, a Puritan congregation in the north of England fled to Holland in 1607. They made their escape by night, and, though their women and children were seized, they all eventually arrived in safety at Leyden, where they established themselves, and dwelt for eleven years. It was not surprising that, in such an atmosphere of republican ideas, these exiles, who had fled from the king as well as the Church, should add Republicanism to their religious dissent. The Puritans in England had likewise adopted the same views, perhaps through the influence of the Swiss theologians. In this manner they became advocates of liberty and men of progress.

The Puritans adopt
Republicanism.

The attention of the exiles in Holland having been directed to America as a field better suited to their views, they made arrangements to emigrate, and, after many delays and misfortunes, crossed the Atlantic in the "Mayflower," and established themselves at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620. It was December 11th when they landed. So dreadful were their sufferings, that, before the return of spring, half the emigrants had perished. At one time there were but seven persons able to render duty.

Emigration of the
Puritans in the
Mayflower.

In 1629, under the auspices of the Council of Plymouth, and of a charter granted by Charles I., the English Puritans had their attention directed to the feeble colony that was thus maintaining itself in the Bay of Cape Cod. Regarding those favorable auspices as a summons from heaven, an active emigration set in. At first a body of 200 established itself at Salem. By the advice of persons of enlarged minds, the charter of the Council of Plymouth was transferred to New England by the emigration of the corporate body, and, though there were doubts as to the legality of the step,

Growth of the Pu-
ritan colonies.

its consequence was the instant success of the Massachusetts colony. Seventeen ships, with 1500 emigrants, more than half of them Independents, at once crossed the Atlantic. The settlement of Boston was established. Twenty-one thousand persons had reached New England before 1640. Puritanism and Republicanism were firmly seated in Northeastern America.

The freedom of thought that the Puritans had thus secured for themselves they were unwilling to concede to others. Their maxim was that social harmony, and, indeed, the very existence of the state, turn on uniformity of belief. Of course, theirs were the only orthodox views. They pursued one of their body, Roger Williams, with mortal animosity, for asserting the absolute independence of the soul, and the unlawfulness of persecution for the cause of conscience. It was this that led, as has been stated, to the colonization of Rhode Island. In these events we witness the result foreseen by the Italian statesmen—the inevitable progress of dissent. The Puritans insisted on freedom of thought for themselves as against the Established Church; the Independents asserted it for every congregation; Roger Williams for each individual man. We see, too, how irresistible is the resort to persecution. The Church of Rome, in its own defense, persecuted the Reformers; the Reformed Church of England, for a like reason, persecuted the Puritans; and, for a like reason, the Puritans persecuted the founder of Rhode Island.

In speaking of the influence of climate on plants (page 88), it has been stated that the zone upon which each special form is distributed has necessarily two sides; they can not pass one of these sides because the heat is too great; they can not pass the other because of the cold.

So, likewise, in considering the distribution of men:

The isothermal zone of Puritanism. for those in warm regions the controlling agent is the summer heat, for those in higher latitudes the winter cold. The inhabitants of the shores of the Gulf struggle against a high temperature, those of New England against a low temperature. In the case of the former we had to deal with the July isothermals, in the case of the latter we must deal with those of January.

Had the Puritans settled in the Southern States they would have become extinct. They settled above the January isothermal of 41° (see map, page 112), the line that marks the boundary of intellectual freedom. They prospered because Nature was propitious.

It is occupied by the Teutonic nations in Europe. If we seek, in the history of Europe, prognostics of the probable course of the Puritan colonies of America, our attention must be mainly directed to the Teutonic nations, the people who on that continent inhabit the corresponding zone. They have ever been inclined in their political conceptions to representative systems; they do not look with disfavor on republican institutions; they rely on trial by jury. In religion they desire freedom of thought; in worship, simplicity. Of an inventive turn, with them have originated many of those invaluable applications of the discoveries of physical science to civil life and industrial art that are the glory of our times. Firmly believing in the advantages of education, they seek to secure it for their rising generations as far as their political institutions will permit. They view polygamy with abhorrence; their hatred of human slavery is almost fanatical.

In view of the characteristics exhibited by this type of humanity, not without admiration do we look on the widened spread of the zone it inhabits in Europe; not without regret on its narrowness in America; and, recalling the history of that continent, not with surprise at

Extent and position of that zone in Asia.

its insignificance in Asia. As shown in map, page 112, the maximum width of this zone in America is only one third of what it is in Europe; in Asia it is only one fourth, except in China, where it at least equals, if it does not exceed the American proportion. From the Caspian Sea, as it were from a focus, these isothermals spread out like a vast open fan over Europe, diverging from one another as they go to the northwest; in America they are curves compressed together, and concave to the north; in Asia they are in still closer proximity, and run in lines that are almost straight and parallel. Their diverging distribution in Europe is produced by the Gulf Stream.

CHAPTER IX.

TENDENCY OF THE NORTHERN COLONIES TO UNION.

The pressure exerted by the French settlements and military posts in the Valleys of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi constrained the English colonies on the Atlantic to consider measures for mutual protection and union.

A plan was proposed at Albany for converting the disconnected colonies into a nation, and for making their union obligatory and perpetual by act of Parliament.

Biography of Franklin, considered as the representative man of the closing colonial times.

THE influence of France as an American continental power was not obliterated without leaving a most important effect on the English colonies. Those colonies were compressed upon the Atlantic border by a chain of French military establishments extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi. From the political writings of Dr. Franklin we may gather a clear view of the condition of affairs.

The influence of France in colonial American history.

Franklin's statement of the pressure of the French on the English colonies.

He says "that the great country back of the Appalachian Mountains, on both sides of the Ohio, and between that river and the lakes, is now known both to the English and the French to be one of the finest in North America for the extreme richness and fertility of the land, the healthy temperature of the air and mildness of the climate, the plenty of hunting, fishing, and fowling, the facility of trade with the Indians, and the vast convenience of inland navigation, or water carriage, by the lakes and great rivers many hundreds of leagues around."

"From these natural advantages it must undoubtedly, perhaps in less than another century, become a populous

and powerful dominion, and a great accession of power either to England or to France."

"The French are now making open encroachments on those territories in defiance of our known rights, and if we longer delay to settle that country, inconveniences and mischiefs will probably follow. Our people, being confined to the country between the Appalachian Mountains and the Atlantic, can not much more increase in number, but the French will increase by that acquired room and plenty of subsistence, and become a great people behind us. Our debtors, servants, slaves, will desert to them, strengthening them and weakening us; they will cut us off from commerce and alliance with the Western Indians, and set those Indians, as they have heretofore done, to harass our people."

He therefore advocates the establishment of two strong English colonies between the Ohio and Lake Erie, affirming that they would give security to the back-settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, by preventing the excursions of the French; they would also prevent "the dreaded junction of the French settlements in Canada with those in Louisiana," and in case of a war it would be easy for them to annoy Louisiana by going down the Ohio and Mississippi; and also through these channels and the lakes a great interior trade might be carried on.

Drawing attention to the fact that the grants to most of the colonies are of long, narrow strips of land, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and therefore of an unmanageable shape—their extremes being too far asunder—he proposes to take the Appalachian Mountains as a limit, and have new colonies on the western slope of those mountains down to the Mississippi River.

He insists on the necessity of checking their power.

He proposes the curtailment of the old colonies and the establishment of new ones.

After the conquest of Canada by the English, an influ-

ential party in England favored its restoration to the French, preferring the retention of certain of

Desire in England
to restore Canada
to the French.

the West India Islands. On this occasion Franklin wrote, with great ability, that "to leave the French in possession of Canada when it is in our power to remove them, and to depend on our own strength and watchfulness to prevent the mischiefs that may attend it, is neither safe nor prudent." "Canada in the hands of France has always stunted the growth of our colonies, and has disturbed the strongest of them by compelling an expenditure of two or three millions sterling every year."

There lay at the bottom of this desire to restore Canada to the French, and throw away the glorious conquest of Wolfe, a very remarkable reason. If the French were left there they would check the growth of the colonies, which otherwise would "extend themselves almost without bounds into the inland parts, and increase infinitely from all causes, becoming a numerous, hardy, and independent people, possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England, living wholly on their own labor, and, in process of time, knowing little and inquiring little about the mother country." "In short, the present colonies are large enough and numerous enough, and the French ought to be left in North America to prevent their increase, lest they become not only useless, but dangerous to Britain." On this Franklin remarks, "It is very true that the colonists were increasing amazingly, doubling their number every twenty-five years by natural generation only, exclusive of emigration." He states that "in a century more, the number of English in America will probably be greater than that in England itself, but that it does not follow that they will become either useless or dangerous to the mother country; on the contra-

Its intention was to
restrain colonial
development.

ry, they will increase the demand for her manufactures, increase her trade, and add greatly to her naval power." Subsequently, however, it was generally thought in England that the retention of Canada had been a serious political mistake; "had not the French been removed from Canada, the American Revolution could never have taken place;" "the Americans would have had something else to do than revolt."

The retention of Canada considered to be a mistake.

The compression exerted by the French previously to the conquest of Canada was, however, the immediate cause of those preparatory attempts which, though at first abortive, eventually matured in "the Union," and hence the remark is justified that they left a permanent impress on the destiny of the colonies. The "Albany papers" of Dr. Franklin present the facts very plainly.

Early attempt of the colonies to form a Union.

The English Board of Trade, desirous that all the provinces should make a common treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, recommended them to form a plan of union which might also serve for their mutual protection and defense against the French. The plan which on this occasion was offered by Dr. Franklin at the Albany meeting was, however, rejected by all the colonial assemblies, because it was considered by them to have too much prerogative in it; in England it was rejected as being too democratic.

Dr. Franklin, in his Albany papers, says that "commissioners from a number of the Northern colonies being met at Albany, and considering the difficulties that have always attended the most necessary general measures for the common defense or for the annoyance of the enemy, when they were to be carried through the several particular assemblies of all the colonies, some assemblies being before at variance

The Albany commissioners assert its necessity.

with their governors or councils, and the several branches of the government not on terms of doing business with each other; others taking the opportunity, when their concurrence is wanted, to push for favorite laws, powers, or points, that they think could not at other times be obtained, and so creating disputes and quarrels; one assembly waiting to see what another will do, being afraid of doing more than its share, or desirous of doing less, or refusing to do any thing, because its country is not at present so much exposed as others, or because another will reap more immediate advantage—from one or other of which causes the assemblies of six (out of seven) colonies applied to had granted no assistance to Virginia when lately invaded by the French, though purposely convened, and the importance of the occasion earnestly urged upon them; considering, moreover, that one principal encouragement to the French, in invading and insulting the British-American dominions, was their knowledge of our disunited state, and of our weakness arising from such want of union, and that from hence different colonies were at different times extremely harassed, and put to great expense both of blood and treasure, who would have remained in peace if the enemy had had cause to fear the drawing on themselves the resentment and power of the whole; the said commissioners considering also the present encroachments of the French, and the mischievous consequences that may be expected from them, if not opposed with our force, came to a unanimous resolution *that a union of the colonies is absolutely necessary for their preservation.*"

The manner of forming and establishing this union was the next point. When it was considered that the colonies were seldom all in equal danger at the same time, or equally near the danger, or equally sensible of it; that some of them had

Their plan for making it perpetually binding.

particular interests to manage with which a union might interfere, and that they were extremely jealous of each other, it was thought impracticable to obtain a joint agreement of all the colonies to a union in which the expense and burden of defending any of them should be divided among them all; and even if acts of assembly could be obtained in all the colonies for that purpose, yet, as any colony on the least dissatisfaction might repeal its own act, and thereby withdraw itself from the union, it would not be a stable one, or such as could be depended on; for if only one colony should, on any disgust, withdraw itself, others might think it unjust and unequal that they, by continuing in the union, should be at the expense of defending a colony which refused to bear its proportionate part, and would therefore, one after another, withdraw, till the whole crumbled into its original parts; therefore the commissioners came to another resolution, viz., "*That it was necessary the union should be established by act of Parliament, so as to make it irreversible.*"

It was proposed by some of the commissioners to form the colonies into two or three distinct unions, but the proposal was dropped even by those that made it for several reasons, and among others for this, that *a single union was desirable, since from this the colonies would learn to consider themselves not as so many independent states, but as members of the same nation.*

It is interesting, after the lapse of more than a century, to read these details, though the main plan for the time being miscarried. They are illuminated by the light cast on them from the civil war. The necessity of one union—the danger of secession—the need of a central authoritative body such as Parliament then was to insure compulsory permanence, are things of as great interest now as they were when Franklin wrote.

Their intention was to convert the disconnected colonies into one nation.

In considering the history of any race, very valuable indications of the social condition at particular epochs may be obtained from the lives of distinguished or representative men. The intellectual position of colonial America may in this manner be determined, and certainly, among the conspicuous men of the times, no one more perfectly or characteristically represents his country than Franklin, who in the preceding pages has been serving us as a guide.

Biography of
Franklin.

Descended from Puritan ancestors, he was born in Boston in 1706, his father having emigrated from England to America in 1682 to enjoy the exercise of religion with freedom. By his mother's side, also, he might boast of a Puritan descent, for she was the daughter of one of the earliest New England settlers, of whom honorable mention is made by Cotton Mather in his Ecclesiastical History, he being designated as "a Godly and learned Englishman." At ten years of age Franklin was taken to assist his father in his business, which was that of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler; but, disliking the trade, he was bound apprentice to his brother, who was a printer.

He is of Puritan
descent.

While yet a mere youth, he abandoned the religious views in which he had been brought up by his parents, induced to this by some books that fell in his way. The opinions he thus adopted he appears to have held all his life, if we may judge from his conversation with the President of Yale College only five weeks before his decease, he being then in his eighty-fourth year. In this it may be said that he prefigured the change that has taken place in Boston, his native town, of which the religious conceptions prevailing at present would hardly have met with the approval of the Puritan fathers.

His religious views.

Some dissensions happening between his brother and

His life in Philadelphia.

himself, he left Boston by stealth, and wandered to Philadelphia. In the course of a few years, through diligence and frugality, he rose to competence, becoming a prominent public man in the community among whom he had thus been cast. In his Autobiography he naïvely relates the means to which he resorted to insure success. He had founded a club, or junto, consisting of twelve persons, each of whom was the head of another subordinate club. When, therefore, he desired to carry any special project, the organization with which he was thus connected enabled him readily to accomplish his purpose. In this he was also greatly aided by a newspaper he had established. He was, perhaps, the first person in America who used the press for the purpose of what is now termed "manufacturing public opinion."

The means to which he was thus resorting necessarily led him, in the disputes occurring between the proprietary government and the people, to take part with the latter. He soon became their most influential and persistent champion, and the bias he thus received had probably no little effect upon him in the greater conflict that soon occurred between the colonies and the British government. In the early part of that contest he did not look with disfavor on the project, very generally advocated, that the colonies should send members to Parliament, but at length, appreciating the imperfection and inadequacy of that scheme, he became the stren-

Becomes the champion of the colonies.

uous advocate of separation and independence; and probably no man did more to prepare the way for that great result. His examination before the House of Commons in 1766, in relation to the repeal of the Stamp Act, made every where a deep impression. His biographer, Mr. Sparks, referring to it, says: "The dignity of his bearing, his self-possession, the

promptness and propriety with which he replied to each interrogatory, the profound knowledge he displayed upon every topic presented to him, his perfect acquaintance with the political condition and internal affairs of his country, the fearlessness with which he defended the late doings of his countrymen and censured the measures of Parliament, his pointed expressions and characteristic manner—all these combined to rivet the attention and excite the astonishment of his audience. There is no event in this great man's life more creditable to his talents and character, and more honorable to his fame, than this examination before the British Parliament. It is an enduring monument of his wisdom, firmness, sagacity, and patriotism."

His examination
before the English
House of Com-
mons.

In truth, Franklin was regarded all over Europe as not only officially, but also individually, representing his American countrymen. His biography resembled their history. In both there was the rough struggle of early years, the attainment of prosperity by industry and frugality, an intense love of independence, a warm interest in public affairs. Though many of his later years were spent in England and France, he preserved all his American peculiarities. Lacretelle, speaking of the impression he made upon the French, observed: "They personified in him the republic of which he was the representative and legislator. They regarded his virtues as those of his countrymen, and even judged of their physiognomy by the imposing and serene traits of his own."

Is regarded as the
representative of
Americanism in
Europe.

No one appreciated more thoroughly than Franklin the advantages to be derived from a cultivation of physical science. He was the very prototype of the Yankee inventor. As soon as he had discovered a new principle or ascertained a new fact, he attempted to extract some practical benefit

His disposition to
apply scientific
discoveries to use-
ful purposes.

from it. His great discovery of the identity of lightning and electricity was forthwith followed by the invention of the lightning-rod for insuring the safety of buildings. As is often the case with those who devote themselves to the physical department of human knowledge, he held metaphysics in very light esteem.

If in his political principles and actions Franklin completely personifies his colonial countrymen, the same remark holds good in his philosophical relations. Of all countries, America has profited most from the cultivation of natural science. Her vast material development is mainly owing to the advantages she has thence obtained. But science has not been the guide of her development alone; it is likewise becoming the guide of all modern civilization.

He is the personification of his colonial countrymen.

Franklin was the first to make known the existence and phenomena of the Gulf Stream; he experimented on the production of cold by evaporation; he discovered the progressive movement of American storms; but it was

European recognition of his scientific merit.

his identification of lightning and electricity that gave him his great European celebrity.

His merit consists, however, not in the suggestion of that identity, for others had suggested it before, but in devising the means of proof. He himself relates, in his Autobiography, that his earlier communications on Electricity, which he had caused to be read before the Royal Society of London, were received with but little consideration. That society, however, in due time made him the most ample and honorable amends. Unsolicited, they elected him a member of their body, and presented him the Copley medal, the highest distinction they have to bestow.

The Royal Society has had no little to do with the advancement of modern civilization. In the seventeenth century the tone of thought in England had greatly

Institution and valuable services of the Royal Society.

changed, and, relieved from ecclesiasticism by the varied political events that had taken place, several learned men had contracted a taste for the study of Nature. For mutual gratification and improvement they held weekly meetings, and were known by the title of the Invisible or Philosophical College. At first they encountered a great deal of popular and ecclesiastical prejudice, it being supposed that they were engaged in an unlawful prying into natural secrets, and that their pursuits had an irreligious or atheistic tendency. King Charles II., however, effectually sustained them, for, having tastes of a like kind himself, he gave them a charter, and occasionally attended their meetings.

Dr. Johnson, in "the Idler," says: "When the philosophers of the seventeenth century were first congregated into the Royal Society, we are told that great expectations were raised of the sudden progress of useful arts. The time was supposed to be near when engines should turn by a perpetual motion, and health be secured by a universal medicine; when learning should be facilitated by a common character, and commerce extended by ships which could reach their ports in defiance of the tempest. But that time never came. The society met and parted without any visible diminution of the miseries of life. The gout and stone were still painful; the ground that was not plowed brought forth no harvest; and neither oranges nor grapes could grow upon the hawthorn."

Dr. Johnson's criticisms on it.

Had that great master of words been privileged to look through a century into the future, he would have seen the automatic engines to which he referred, and of whose advent he despaired, doing the mechanical drudgery of England, and accomplishing the work of perhaps a hundred millions of men. He might, in defiance of the wind and tide, have crossed the Atlantic in little more than a

week in one of those ships that he had been looking for in vain. Six miles an hour was very fair traveling for him ; now he might move at sixty. He might send messages under the sea and over the mountains in an almost inappreciable time. And perhaps he might be willing to concede that the gout and the stone may some day be deprived of their terrors after he had witnessed lithotomy, amputations, and other terrible operations of surgery performed on men purposely thrown into an unconscious and insensitive state, and the loathsome small-pox, the dread of his time, neutralized by resorting to vaccination.

At the time of Franklin's great discovery (1752), the physical sciences and their applications to industrial pursuits were on the point of making a great advance. Chemistry, one of the most important of these sciences, was about to be remodeled through the discovery of the true nature of the gases and the detection of latent heat. The immediate consequence of the latter was the invention of the steam-engine, an invention which has entirely revolutionized the industrial arts. Ingenious mechanics began to turn their attention to the construction of labor-saving machinery, and in a short time the population, the manufactures, the commerce, the wealth of England exhibited a prodigious increase. Nor was America behind England in that respect ; nay, more, in truth she was greatly in advance. By availing herself of the natural powers thus placed at her disposal, she has, in a little more than a century, nearly accomplished the settlement of the continent ; and the republic, from slender beginnings, has already attained the position of one of the great powers of the earth. Franklin's prophecy has come to pass—the majority of those who speak the English tongue are now on the American side of the Atlantic.

Position of the useful sciences at the epoch of Franklin.

Wonderful results obtained from them in England and America.

CHAPTER X.

GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS. PROGRESS OF THE NORTHERN POPULATION TO THE MISSISSIPPI.

The English Atlantic population of the Northern States, relieved from French pressure, rapidly absorbed all other foreign populations, diffusing itself over the Alleghanies and descending the eastern incline of the Mississippi Valley. In this progress it suffered no Indian contamination, and was affected only by climate, and by Irish and German immigration. Influence of the ideas of those foreigners.

The connection of the Northern population with Indian and African slavery was limited. Circumstances under which the conscience of Massachusetts was awakened to its wickedness.

PLACED thus, as has been described, upon the Atlantic border, the populations of English descent began to diffuse toward the West. It required, however, nearly sixty years from the time of which we have been speaking before they had fully gained the line of the Mississippi—a journey which was, as all first emigrations must be, destructive of human life. Men followed each other like the phantom waves made by the wind on the tall grasses of the prairies, forever disappearing and forever advancing. At last they reached the blue bluffs that mark out where the great river, through sand-banks and crumbling islands, flows lazily on its way.

The diffusion of the population to the line of the Mississippi.

During this diffusion they may be considered as spreading over an unoccupied territory, and suffering no essential disturbance from Indian blood-admixture. The sparsely-scattered aboriginal tribes were pressed out of their way, occasioning no race-contamination. Practically there were but two disturbing influences at work: 1st, their own interaction

There was no contamination from Indian admixture.

on each other, as members of different European nations whose race-peculiarities were still continuing in their American life; 2d, modification from the new climate.

In estimating the effect of the first of these disturbances, it is to be borne in mind that in the intermingling of different types much will depend on their relative numbers. Practically a small tribe mixing with a large one will disappear so completely that the traces of it will cease to be discoverable, although, in truth, it is not destroyed—its presence is only masked. A glass of water added to a glass of wine may be detected at once, but if it were mingled with a thousand gallons of wine the most experienced taster could never detect it, yet it is still present with all its qualities unimpaired.

However, in human amalgamations, the intruding element may itself be undergoing climate modifications, and so, from moment to moment, losing its own identity, and approaching with greater or less rapidity the character of that with which it has united.

We are too much in the habit of considering our posterity, and looking downward in race-investigations. If, like the Chinese, who reverence their ancestry, we look upward, the true relation of successive generations is more clearly seen. Each person has two parents, from each of whom he has derived corporeal and mental lineaments; of grandparents he has four; of great-grandparents eight—of ancestors he has already fourteen. We go but a little way back before we find a million. In that vast congregation, what is the value of any single one? In the mixture of blood and merging of character, how can we expect to trace any individual influence? Moreover, in any nation or race, persons far separated from each other by class-distinction or other diversity may find in not a remote

Effect of race-interaction.

Rapid diminution of ancestral influence.

remove a common ancestor equally related to both, but without any resemblance to either.

Upon the Atlantic border the vestiges of Swedish life underwent obliteration, and the same might almost be said as to the Spaniards at the South, and of whatever French there were at the North on this side of the St. Lawrence. An apparent exception occurred in the case of the Dutch; for, though their lower classes readily assimilated with the English population, and so were lost, their higher, through the possession of landed estates, which, in spite of their subdivision, were continually increasing in relative value, were able to maintain an isolated condition. In New York they stood, and, indeed, still stand in the attitude of a local aristocracy, in the noblest acceptance of that term; for these families of Dutch descent, and still retaining their Dutch names, have formed a nucleus round which whatever is socially respectable has spontaneously gathered. They have ever been upholders of religion, order, learning, devoting themselves to affairs of patriotism, charitable undertakings, and the patronage of good works.

Obliteration of
Swedish, Spanish,
French life.

Social position of
the descendants of
the Dutch.

But, their relative smallness of numbers and their local influence considered, the Dutch in New York and New Jersey, and the Germans and Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania, which of all the states is the least homogeneous, though they unquestionably give a character to the parts in which they settled, constitute no real exception to the remark that the description of the spread of population from the Atlantic border westwardly is substantially that of the diffusion of English life. It may be conveniently considered under two heads: 1st. Northern diffusion; 2d. Southern diffusion.

Heterogeneous
condition of Penn-
sylvania.

1st. *Of the progress of population at the North.*

For many years the current of emigration was comparatively feeble. It was mainly derived from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, and continued at a nearly uniform annual rate from the Revolution until about 1806. From 1784 to 1794 the yearly rate was about 4000. In the latter year it rose to 10,000, but did not recover that point again until 1817. This falling off was due to the European wars, which not only created an urgent demand for men both for the land and sea service, but also to the enforcement of the principle at that time insisted upon by the English government that a subject could never throw off his allegiance.

In 1817, when the fear of English impressment had passed away, immigration to the United States rose to 22,240. In this aggregate there were included many native-born Americans, who, through the incidents of the war, had been detained in Europe, and were now returning. Due allowance made for this, the sudden impetus may be traced to the declining demand for men for military and naval purposes, the great derangement in the pursuits of the working-classes as a state of war was exchanged for a state of peace, and the financial disturbances which were occurring or impending.

The current now steadily gathered force. In 36½ years, ending December 1st, 1855, the United States received nearly 4½ millions of immigrants. Among these were

1,348,682 British.	747,930 Irish.
1,206,087 Germans.	34,599 Scotch.
207,492 English	188,725 French.

Under the title "British," in this table, are included English, Scotch, and Irish, but the relative proportions can not now be ascertained. Com-

Immigrants received by the North from Europe.

Increase on the close of the European wars.

Total value of immigration.

petent authorities, however, have been led to the conclusion that of these at least one million were from Ireland. This would make the total Irish emigration for that period 1,747,930.

From the best estimates now accessible, it appears that the total immigration into the United States since the Revolution to the close of 1855 has been nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

Immigrants up to Sept. 30th, 1819	250,000
“ “ Dec. 31st, 1855	4,212,624
	<hr/> 4,462,624

In a general manner, it may therefore be affirmed that the United States have gained as much from Europe by immigration as Great Britain has lost from her domestic population by emigration to all countries. At the commencement of the civil war the number did not differ much from five millions.

In considering the effect of such immigrations, we must bear in mind the statement of Machiavelli, that in every great society there are necessarily three orders of men: a superior order, who understand things through their own unassisted mental powers; an intermediate order, who understand things when they are explained to them; a low order, who do not understand at all. Of the first it may be added that they are limited in number, but dominant through intelligence; of the second, that, in modern countries having free journalism, they fall under its influence, the man of this grade adopting the opinions of his accustomed newspaper, and unconsciously retailing them as his own; of the third, which is by far the most numerous, its members pass through life in a monotonous intellectual slumber—they think in monosyllables.

The political effect of emigration depends on this condition: from which of these three orders has the emigrating mass issued. If the drain has been from the low-

Machiavelli's division of society into three grades.

Relative influence
of those three
grades in immi-
gration.

est, the laboring class, the consequent result may not amount to much, for the diminution of that class is capable of quick repair. The self-multiplying force of an old society is always greater than the number realized, which is kept down by resisting influences, and, just as the atmosphere will press into an exhausted space, so will that unsatisfied, that restrained power of multiplication quickly fill up the vacancy that has thus been made.

On the other hand, should the migrating body have diminished seriously the number of the highest class, the result is a far more important, a far more permanent affair. A loss of the direct influence of these men is no inconsiderable thing, for, no matter what may be the form of government the affected community may live under, they will and do control public thought. Still more, society has no means of recruiting at its pleasure the wasted ranks of this class; such individuals appear at limited intervals, and only here and there.

We have, therefore, to bear in mind that the effect of emigrations depends on the grade of society from which the emigrating mass has issued, being very different in the cases of the laboring and intellectual classes respectively; that homogeneousness in a community imparts stability, though it implies eventual stagnation; that a community suffering incessant blood-disturbance will exhibit social activity, but if the disturbing element be very base, a corresponding depreciation in absolute value will ensue.

In the Northern States the blood-disturbance in the old English settlers of the Atlantic border has been, as we have said, through immigration. Its effect would be more marked if the stream did not flow mainly from Ireland and Germany, countries that are bound by the same annual iso-

Special influence of
the Irish and Ger-
man immigration.

thermals that limit New York on the north and Washington on the south. The movement which this class of population has to accomplish to come into correspondence with the new conditions is not great, but a careful observer will not fail to detect the retardation each fresh arrival impresses on the movement of its predecessors, and their corresponding detention in the lower intellectual states. The manner of thought of the whole community is less definite, its ideas less settled, its intentions less precise.

The Atlantic States have been the chief seat from which has issued the emigration destined to people the West. So far as their agricultural population is concerned, many of them may be regarded as having passed into a stationary condition. Of this, Vermont may be taken as an example, its census report for 1860 being substantially the same as that for 1850. If the limit of land-support has thus been reached, any farther advance must be looked for from

Stationary condition of some of the old states.

commercial and manufacturing avocations. The Northwestern States offer a striking contrast; in the same decade Illinois doubled its population.

Rapid development of the new.

From the Atlantic States, in this manner, a very large portion of their population has been removed; in the general aggregate, about one fourth having emigrated. It is to be observed that the countries thus settled bear a resemblance, social and political, to those from which their population was first derived, a fact pointing to the conclusion that the abstraction made from the Atlantic States

has been in a proportional manner from each of the three social grades. The effect of this has been to keep those states intellectually in a stationary condition, and to retard the development they would otherwise have made. Society, retaining in them more or less completely its primitive interior balance, has lost the advantage that would have been en-

Effect on the Atlantic States of these emigrations to the West.

joyed had the field of action been limited, the population more dense, the mental competition more violent. This is the explanation of the remark, so often made, that our material prosperity and our mental progress have not advanced with an equal step.

The emigrating mass also has been placed under extraordinary conditions. Peopling an uninhabited region, it has suffered no deterioration from blood-admixture with lower tribes.

The emigrating mass is unadulterated, but is affected by climate, natural and artificial.

The change that is being impressed upon it is altogether the effect of climate. Physically it hastens to come into correspondence with the new circumstances, and is ever moving in an ascending course. The length of time to be occupied in the metamorphosis before complete accordance is gained must be very considerable, and the event subject to perpetual retardation, if continued immigration is going on.

On the other hand, the length of time and the course to be passed over are shortened by that artificial climate-variation accomplished in civilized life, explained in Chapter V. The living in artificially-warmed houses, the adjustment of clothing, the selection of food, compensate largely for difference of climate, and bring society to a more homogeneous state.

The advance of the Northern population to the Mississippi was by no means so rapid as might have been expected. Ohio was not admitted to the Union until 1803, Illinois not until 1818. The effect of the Great Lakes in retarding the tide of humanity is seen in the fact that Michigan was not admitted until 1837, Wisconsin not until 1847. This slow progress westward was, to no inconsiderable extent, due to the fact that much of the diffusive power of this population was converted into local energy, and consumed in the establishment of large towns. As will be presently

Rate of diffusion of the Northern population to the West.

seen, the Southern population, though numerically inferior, and settled on an equal geographical surface, actually surpassed in rapidity of diffusion the Northern, this being mainly the result of plantation life, and the consumption of a smaller proportion of the population in the establishment of cities.

The retardation of the Northern progress to the Mississippi was also partly due, in the first instance, to the retention by the English of the Western posts. The United States, under the Confederation, could not carry out the treaty of peace, and Mr. Adams, then minister to England, received a reply from the British government that "one party could not be obliged to a strict observance of the engagements of a treaty, and the other remain free to deviate from its obligations." The whole difficulty lay in the fact that Congress had no compulsory power over the states to oblige them to conform in their legislation to the treaty stipulations. This cause of retardation was not, however, of long duration.

Causes of its retardation.

The rural industry of the Northern people was chiefly directed to the production of grain, hay, potatoes, corn, butter, cheese, wool, live-stock. To these local circumstances added other products; thus New Hampshire furnished granite; Maine, lumber, fish, ice; Massachusetts, granite and marble; New York, iron and salt; Pennsylvania, iron and coal; Wisconsin, lead; Michigan, copper, etc. The concentration of population in towns was the result of the great development of manufactures and commerce; the objects of pursuit were therefore very various, and, indeed, embraced almost every thing that is of interest in civilized life.

Products of its rural economy indicate its habits of life.

Farming, mining, the fisheries, manufactures, machinery, trade, commerce, formed, therefore, the diversified pursuits of the North. If the people diffused slowly, they built

solidly. They left, as they advanced, no desolate, no worn-out fields. Properly speaking, this people did not migrate—they grew. The land once possessed was retained. Nothing was abandoned.

The settlement of the Northwestern Territory ceded by Virginia to the Union, and the formation of the powerful states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, out of it, were determined by the Ordinance of 1787, a measure not only offering a most signal instance of practical and comprehensive legislation, but also being the exemplar by which unoccupied domain has since been converted into legal territory, and then developed into perfect states. Though its special provisions have been occasionally modified, the general conception on which it depends has remained unchanged.

This ordinance was enacted by Congress, July, 1787.

The Ordinance of 1787. It constituted the Territory one district, but authorized its subsequent division. It directed that property should be distributed equally among the children of an intestate, the widow to have a life-interest in one third of the real and personal property. Persons of full age could dispose of their estates by written will, in presence of three witnesses. Real estate was to be conveyed by a person of full age by deed, which must be acknowledged and attested by two witnesses. All wills and deeds must be registered. The civil government was to consist of three branches—executive, legislative, judicial. The governor was to be appointed by Congress, as was also a court of common law, consisting of three judges. The governor and judges were to adopt and publish such laws of the old states as were suited to the district, these laws to have effect until a General Assembly was organized, or until Congress disapproved of them. The governor was to appoint magistrates, but

when the General Assembly was organized their duties were to be regulated by it. The governor was also authorized to divide the Territory into counties and townships, but those divisions might be subsequently changed by the Legislature. As soon as the Territory contained five thousand free male inhabitants, they were to elect representatives to a General Assembly, one representative for every five hundred electors. The qualifications of the representative were specified.

Articles of compact between the inhabitants of the Territory and the old states were ordained. They were chiefly: 1st. That there should be in the Territory freedom of religious opinion and worship. 2d. That the right to the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury, a proportional representation in the Legislature, the course of the common law, the bailing of offenses not capital, a just compensation for property or services required by the public, and the inviolability of contracts, should be secured; that immoderate fines, and cruel or unusual punishments, should be prohibited. 3d. That provision should be made for the establishment of schools. 4th. That the Territory and its states should forever be a part of the Confederacy and subject to Congress, the inhabitants to be taxed proportionally for public expenses, and that there should never be any interference with Congress as to the primary disposal of soil, or the security of titles given by it; that no tax should ever be imposed on land owned by the United States; that non-residents should not be taxed more than residents, and that the navigable waters leading to the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi should be forever free. 5th. That the Territory might be formed into not less than three, nor more than five states, and that whenever one of the latter had sixty thousand free inhabitants, it might be admitted by its delegates to Congress on an equal footing with the

old states, and be at liberty to form a permanent Constitution and state government, provided that it should be republican and in conformity with these articles of compact. 6th. That there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the Territory otherwise than for the punishment of crime, but that fugitives owing service in other states might be reclaimed.

It was not possible but that free communities should prosper under such institutions, and that the fertile regions thus politically organized should tempt population not only from the Atlantic States, but also from Europe. This immigration was, in the first instance, from Ireland, but subsequently very largely from Germany.

The psychical impress imparted to the descendants of the old Puritan stock by the immigrating masses of Irish was comparatively insignificant. The ideas these foreigners brought were essentially of a religious kind, that had been passed over by the native Americans long previously. Conceptions that found acceptance in the devout Catholic mind, and gave it consolation, were necessarily declined by the educated descendant of the Puritan, who had himself already made a great advance beyond the ideas of the old colonists. But, considering the whole population in the aggregate, this immigration has detained it in a lower intellectual state. Catholicism is in its nature intrinsically antagonistic to self-government—its obedience is to the priest. As in former ages, so now, it tends to maintain a state within the state. It aims to keep its adherents separated from the general community, that it may wield them as a mass. Political demagogues also find their advantage in this, for they, too, use this class of the population as a cudgel against their opponents.

With the German immigration it was different. It made itself felt intellectually in the community among

Impression made
on American society
by the Irish im-
migrant.

Impression made
on American socie-
ty by the German
immigrant.

which it settled, because its own intellectual development, though in one sense special, was very high. Its ideas, to say the least, were on a par with those of the American. It brought industry and intelligence, and overcame the difficulties and drawbacks of a foreign tongue. Though its Sabbath ideas were not congenial to the more austere American, he instantly appreciated and accepted its tastes. Among these may be specially mentioned a love of music and the fine arts.

Such were the benefits conferred by the better class of German immigrants, who, for the most part, found occupation in commercial and business pursuits, often on a very imposing scale. The rustic German, plodding, poor, and ignorant, unlike the Irishman, avoids the populous cities, preferring to settle in the rich prairie-lands. Assisted by his wife, who shares his toils, he turns those great meadows into gardens. In place of the wild flowers that sway to and fro in the wind, he raises crops of golden grain, converting the roaming grounds of wild animals into harvest-fields. His yellow-haired children, under the free sky and surrounded by a vast unbroken horizon, are confirmed in their native Teutonic love of liberty. Patient, laborious, independent, he looks upon slavery with hatred, and on the slaveholder with contempt.

Character of the ru-
ral populations in
the West.

Gigantesque in his ideas, and not unfrequently in his conversation, the Western man is conscious of destiny when he affirms that he is laying the foundations of a great republic—a Colossus that, in the days of his grandchildren, will grasp Europe in one hand, and Asia in the other.

Of Indian and ne-
gro slavery in the
Eastern States.

To these remarks on the effect of the Irish and German immigration on the population of the North, it now remains to add

some statements on Indian and negro slavery in that region.

Deceived by their erroneous interpretations of Scripture, or perhaps not reflecting maturely on the immorality of their act, the Puritan colonists were drawn into the African slave-trade. With an incongruity so quaint as often to provoke the reader's mirth, they blindly mixed up deeds of wickedness with the most pious aspirations, and became, to a very large extent, slave-carriers to the South. In Moore's "Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts" the progress of these events may be found. To that work I am indebted for several of the following facts.

The first slaves in Massachusetts were Indians captured in the Pequod War (1637). Partly through fear of their escape, and partly through apprehension that they might satisfy their revengeful spirit if permitted to remain in the country, many of them were exported beyond seas. Governor Winthrop mentions that, through the Lord's great mercy, a number of them had been taken, of whom the males were sent to Bermuda, and the females distributed through the Bay towns to be employed as domestic servants. The expatriation of these Indians led to the commencement of the colonial slave-trade, and a vessel of 120 tons, "The Desire,"

Exportation of Indian captives of war.

It leads to the adoption of the African slave-trade.

one of the first built in the colony, was used for that purpose. The thing was not done in secret, or indirectly, but openly, by the public authority. Thus we find, in a letter to Winthrop, at that time governor: "Mr. Endicott and myself salute you in the Lord Jesus. We have heard of a division of women and children in the Bay, and would be glad of a share, viz., a young woman or girl, and a boy, if you think good. I wrote to you for some boys for Ber-

Such prisoners are distributed by the colonial governors.

muda." Captain Stoughton, who was employed in the Pequod War, wrote to the same governor (Winthrop): "By this pinnace you shall receive forty-eight or fifty women and children, concerning which there is one I formerly mentioned, that is the fairest and largest I saw among them, to whom I have given a coat to clothe her. It is my desire to have her for a servant, if it may stand with your good liking, else not. There is a little squaw that Steward Culacut desireth, to whom he hath given a coat. Lieutenant Davenport also desireth one that hath three marks on her stomach (here the good Puritan captain gives a sketch of the marks he had observed on that part of her person). He desireth her, if it will stand with your liking."

The first statute establishing slavery in the colonies is to be found in the Massachusetts Code of Fundamentals, or Body of Liberties, in 1641.

Legal recognition
of slavery in the
Northern colonies.

The Articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England (1643) also recognize the lawful existence of slavery. According to its provisions, lands, goods, and captives are to be divided among the confederates. Even the germ of a fugitive slave law may be detected at that early date. "The commissioners of the united colonies found reason to complain to the Dutch governor in New Netherlands (1646) of the fact that the Dutch agent at Hartford had harbored a fugitive Indian woman slave, of whom they say in their letter, 'such a servant is part of her master's estate, and a more consid-

Fugitive slave
treaty provision.

erable part than a beast.' A provision for the rendition of fugitive slaves was afterward made by treaty between the Dutch and the English."

The Puritans, as we have seen, justified their barbarities to the New England Indians on the same principle that the Spaniards excused their atrocities to those of Mexico and Peru. "We

Patristic ideas of
the Puritans re-
specting Indians.

know not," says Cotton Mather, "when or how these Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the Devil decoyed the miserable savages hither, in hopes that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or obstruct his absolute empire over them." The colonists, therefore, considered themselves entitled to treat these captives as the children of Israel treated the Canaanites. In the opinion of Governor Hutchinson, nothing more effectively defeated the endeavors for Christianizing them; "it seems to have done more to have sunk their spirits, led them to intemperance, and extirpated the whole race." At the time of King Philip's war, large numbers of Indian prisoners were sold "in the country's behalf;" at one time, 112 men, women, and children; at another time, 57; at another (1675), 188. One hundred and seventy-eight were exported from Plymouth and sold in Spain. In not a few instances, treachery was resorted to to get possession of them. Thus, "about a 150 Indians came into Plymouth garrison voluntarily. Plymouth authority sold them all for slaves (but about six of them), to be carried out of the country." But these atrocities were not accomplished without indignant remonstrances from the military officers to whom the prisoners had surrendered. Public demoralization spread apace. Even the converted or "praying Indians" did not escape this rapacious cupidity; many of them, under false accusations, were sold as slaves. Nay, more, "Quaker ladies were whipped with ten stripes," and Quaker children adjudged to be sold into slavery to Barbadoes and Virginia.

The lawfulness of enslaving and selling them.

Voyages of the Salem slave-ship Desire.

The sale of the New England Indians to foreign countries by the Puritans originated, as previously remarked, in a fear that they would escape if left near their native haunts, and

revenge upon the whites the cruelties they had endured. This led to the African slave-trade in the colonies. The Salem slave-ship "Desire" brought negroes from the West Indies. Downing, in a letter to his brother-in-law, Governor Winthrop, writes (1645): "A war with the Narragansetts is very considerable to this plantation, for I doubt whether it be not sin in us, having power in our hands, to suffer them to maintain the worship of the devil, which their *powwows* often do. 2d. If, upon a just war, the Lord should deliver them into our hands, we might easily have men, women, and children enough to exchange for Moors, which will be more gainful pillage for us than we conceive, for I do not see how we can thrive until we get in a stock of slaves sufficient to do all our business; for our children's children will hardly see this great con-

The Puritans prefer negro slaves to English servants.

continent filled with people, so that our servants will still desire freedom to plant for themselves, and not stay but for very great wages. And I suppose you know very well how we shall maintain twenty Moors cheaper than one English servant. The ships that shall bring Moors may come home laden with salt, which may bear most of the charge, if not all of it."

That this exchange of Indians for negroes had been found advantageous is indicated by an order of the commissioners of the United Colonies (1646) authorizing the shipping and exchange. There is reason to suppose that the slave-trade in Boston reached its maximum about 1727. The number of African slaves in Massachusetts was, however, at no time very large. In 1686 there were not more than 200, who had been brought chiefly from Guinea and Madagascar. In 1708 they had increased to about 550. The increase was not so much by births; for Governor Bradstreet, writing in 1680 to the Lords of the Commit-

The eventual slave population of Massachusetts.

tee for Trade and Foreign Plantations, remarks, “There are very few blacks born here, not above five or six in a year at most; none are baptized that I ever heard of!” That the inducement to import them was not very great appears from the statement of Governor Dudley, that negroes had been found unprofitable, and that the planters preferred white servants.

Number of Negroes in Massachusetts.

1720 2000	1776 5249
1735 2600	1784 4377
1754 4489	1786 4371
1764 5779	1790 6001

The last of these numbers must, however, be rejected, as it embraced Indians. At that time the people would not admit that they had any slaves. Dr. Belknap supposes that the whole number of negroes was about 4000.

In Massachusetts slaves were not permitted to be abroad after nine o'clock at night; they were prohibited improper intercourse and contracting marriage with the whites; their increase was looked upon with disfavor; it did not reimburse the incidental loss of service. Little negroes, “when weaned, were given away like puppies.” The master might deny baptism to his slaves. They were continually advertised in the newspapers for sale. “Just arrived and for sale, a choice parcel of negro boys and girls.” It was quite a recommendation if they had had the small-pox. “A likely negro woman about 19 years, and a child of about 6 months, *to be sold together or apart.*” Such advertisements continued in the newspapers until after the Declaration of Independence, though not without remonstrance. Thus Dr. Gordon, in 1777, denounced them “as in the present season peculiarly shocking:” this was in view of the fact that the colo-

Advertisements of
slave auctions at
last give rise to
public indignation.

nies were contending with the mother country for their own freedom. He adds, "If God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, I can see no reason why a black rather than a white man should be a slave."

Mr. Jefferson, in the account he gives respecting the omission of the celebrated denunciation of slavery from the Declaration of Independence, says: "The clause, too, reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our Northern brethren, also, I believe, felt a little tender under those censures; for, though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."

Mr. Jefferson's statement respecting the slave interests of the North.

From the foregoing facts, it is therefore clear that we must not impute to a Puritan origin, or to Puritan influences, the course that Massachusetts has taken in regard to African slavery in later years. The convictions upon which she has so nobly acted, though perhaps of foreign origin, have gradually been developed in her own bosom. In this, as in many other respects, Puritanism has been greatly misunderstood. It had no conception of universal benevolence or universal liberty. The Massachusetts soldiers of the civil war were far in advance of their forefathers of Plymouth Rock.

The later noble course of Massachusetts not due to Puritanism.

CHAPTER XI.

GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS. PROGRESS OF THE SOUTHERN POPULATION TO THE MISSISSIPPI.

The westward progress of the Southern population having been powerfully influenced by negro slavery, the ethnological condition of the African and American negro is considered. The rapid territorial advance of the South, and its restricted social development, are shown to be the necessary incidents of its special rural economy, and the acquisition of the free navigation of the Mississippi River. The Southern white population has undergone no race-adulteration; that evil has exclusively befallen the black.

The tendency to physiological and social divergence between the Northern and Southern communities has been strengthened by their governing principle of life, which is Individualism in the former, Independence in the latter.

THE development of the Southern population can not be properly considered without treating of the introduction and influence of African slaves.

Though it is commonly said that the first African slaves were brought to the American colonies by a Dutch ship of war, which landed twenty of them at Jamestown in 1620, they had, as we have seen, been introduced on the continent by the Spaniards at a much earlier date. Sir John Hawkins, the slave merchant, figures in the Spanish settlement of Florida; he arrived off that coast in 1565. In the same year Menendez covenanted with Philip II. of Spain to import into Florida five hundred negro slaves. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, so many Africans had been carried to the West Indies that Ovando, the governor of Hispaniola, was anxious for their importation to be stopped. They were partly employed in the mines, and partly in the cultivation of sugar. The African slave-trade had received the sanction of the Spanish government, a monopoly having been granted by Charles V. to

Introduction of negro slavery by the Spaniards, English, and Dutch.

a Fleming, one of his courtiers, who was to import annually four thousand negroes for eight years. He sold the privilege to some Genoese merchants for twenty-five thousand ducats, and they organized the trade.

Slavery had been introduced into the Southern English colonies before the Puritans landed in New England. At that time the most sincerely religious men seem not to have been impressed with a sense of its barbarity and wickedness; it was not until many years subsequently that the public conscience was awakened. As patristicism had led to so sad a tragedy in the extermination of the natives of Mexico and Peru, under the pretense that they did not belong to the human race, so it excused the atrocities perpetrated upon the African under the plea that the Almighty had put a stamp of infamy upon him, he being the descendant of Canaan, whose father, Ham, had treated Noah disrespectfully.

Attempts of the
Popes to arrest the
slave-trade.

Some of the Popes had, however, viewed these proceedings in a just light. Leo X. denounced them, and Paul III., a few years later, invoked curses on those who should attempt to enslave either Indians or any other class of men.

In America, for the reasons given in page 123, it was not possible for the indigenous negro to exist.

On the west coast of Africa, the true negro-land, the thermometer not unfrequently stands at 120° in the shade. For months together it remains, night and day, above 80°. The year is divided into the dry and the rainy season; the latter, setting in with an incessant drizzle, continues until May. It culminates in the most awful thunder-storms and overwhelming rains. This is particularly the case in the mountains. When the dry season has fairly begun, a pestiferous miasm is engendered from the vast quantities

Description of the
negro-land, its cli-
mate and animals.

of vegetable matter brought down into the low lands by torrents. From the fevers thus arising the negroes themselves suffer severely.

Moisture and heat, thus so fatal in their consequences to man, give to that country its amazing vegetable luxuriance. For hundreds of square miles there is an impenetrable jungle, infested with intolerable swarms of musquitoes. The interior is magnificently wooded. The mangrove thickets that line the river banks upon the coast are here replaced by a dark evergreen verdure, interspersed with palms and aloes. A rank herbage obstructs the course of the streams. The crocodile, hippopotamus, pelican, find here a suitable abode. Monkeys swarm in the woods; in the more gloomy recesses live the chimpanzee, gorilla, and other anthropoid apes, approaching man most closely in stature and habits of life. In the open land—the prairies of equatorial Africa—game is infrequent; there are a few antelopes and horned cattle, but no horses. Man—or perhaps more truly woman—is the only beast of burden.

Plantains, sweet potatoes, cassava, pumpkins, ground-nuts, Indian corn, the flesh of the deer, antelope, boar, snake, furnish to the negro his food. He lives in a hut constructed of bamboo or flakes of bark, thatched with matting or palm-leaves. His villages are often pallisadoed. Too lazy, except when severely pressed, to attend to the labors of the field, he compels his wives to plant the roots or seeds, and gather the scanty harvest. In hunting and in war, his main occupations, he relies upon cunning, and will follow his prey with surprising agility, crawling like a snake prone on the ground. He has little or no idea of property in land; slaves are his currency; he makes his purchases and pays his debts with them. “A slave is a note of hand that may be discounted or pawned. He is a bill of ex-

Habits of life of the
negro in Africa.

change that carries himself to his destination, and pays a debt bodily. He is a tax that walks corporeally into the chieftain's treasury." Ferocious in his amours, the African negro has no sentiment of love. The more wives he possesses the richer he is. If he inclines to traffic, each additional father-in-law is an additional trading connection; if devoted to war, an ally. His animal passions too often disdain all such mercenary suggestions: he brings home new wives for the sake of new gratifications. Fond of ornaments, his prosperity is displayed in thick bracelets and anklets of iron or brass. An old European hat, or a tattered dress-coat, without any other article of clothing, is a sufficient badge of kingship. He inclines to nocturnal habits. He will spend all the night lolling with his companions on the ground at a blazing fire, though the thermometer may be at more than 80°, occupying himself in smoking native tobacco, drinking palm wine, and telling stories about witches and spirits. He is an inveterate gambler, a jester, and a buffoon. He knows nothing of hero worship: his religion is a worship of fetiches. They are such objects as the fingers and tails of monkeys, human hair, skin, teeth, bones, old nails, copper chains, claws and skulls of birds, seeds of plants. He believes that evil spirits walk at the sunset hour by the edge of forests; he adores the devil, who is thought to haunt burial-grounds, and, in mortal terror of his enmity, leaves food for him in the woods. He welcomes the new moon by dancing in her shine. Whatever misfortune or sickness befalls him he imputes to sorcery, and punishes the detected wizard or witch with death. He determines guilt by the ordeal of fire: the accused who can seize a red-hot copper ring without being burnt is innocent. His medicine-man—a wind-raiser and rain-maker—pursues his main business of exorcism in a head-dress of black feathers, with a string

of spirit-charms round his neck, and a basket of snake-bone incantations. The more advanced tribes have already risen to idol worship: they adore grotesque figures of the human form, and, following the course through which intelligence in other races has passed, they have wooden gods who can speak, and nod, and wink.

In this deplorable, this benighted condition, the negro nevertheless shows tokens of a capacity for better things. He is an eager trader, and knows the value of his ebony, bar-wood, beeswax, palm-oil, ivory. He has learned how to cheat; nay, more, not unfrequently can outcheat the white man. He can adulterate the caoutchouc and other products he brings down to the coast, and pass them off as pure. His color secures him from the detection of a blush when he lies. Though utterly ignorant of any conception of art, he is not unskillful in the manufacture of cooking-pots and tobacco-pipes of clay; he has a bellows-forge of his own invention; he can reduce iron from its ores and manufacture it. He makes shields of elephants' hide, cross-bows, and other weapons of war. But in the construction of musical instruments his skill is chiefly displayed. From drums of goat-skin, from harps and resonant gourds, he extracts their melancholy sounds, and disturbs the nocturnal African forests with his plaintive melodies.

It has been affirmed by those who have known them well, that the equatorial negro tribes do not increase, but tend to die out spontaneously. This is attributed to infanticide, and to the ravages of miasmatic fever, which in its most malignant form will often destroy its victim in a single day. Even though quinine be taken as a prophylactic, no white man can enter their country with impunity. The night-dews are absolutely mortal.

Few political problems are of more interest in America

His progress in the arts of life.

The noxious climate he inhabits.

than that of the capacity of communities of African descent for civilization. In his own country the negro has been subjected for more than a thousand years to two influences, Christian and Mohammedan. Here and there, on the outskirts of that great continent, the European has made a faint, but at the best only a transitory impression ; the Asiatic has pervaded it through and through. Of the promising churches which in the early days of Christianity fringed the northern coast, scarcely any vestige now remains ; the faith of Arabia has not only supplanted them, but is spreading toward the Cape of Good Hope, and this, as it would seem, spontaneously. Our prejudices and education ought not to conceal from us that there must certainly be some adaptedness, though only in a sensual respect, between the doctrines of the Koran and the ideas of many climates, many nations, many colors. The light of the Arabian crescent shines on all countries from the Gulf of Guinea to the Chinese wall. In the pestilential and sun-burnt forests of equinoctial Africa, cities are springing up with ten, twenty, fifty thousand inhabitants. That implies subordination, law, civilization.

Doubtless, to no insignificant extent, this spread of Mohammedanism has been due to the fact that its first impression was made on the Western—the Indian Ocean tribes. They are much farther advanced than those of the Atlantic coast. From Mozambique and Zanguebar it was carried through commerce, and not by missionary exertion, to the tribes of the interior. The practice of polygamy, which the Koran does not forbid, has also greatly favored this propagandism.

Whoever compares the character of the negro in Africa with the character of the negro in America will come to the conclusion that not only is this race capable of a certain grade of civil-

Mohammedanization
of Central Africa.

Progress of the
American negro in
civilization.

ization, but that it has made considerable advances in that career. The American negro has universally abandoned the abject paganism of his forefathers, and has become not merely nominally, but in spirit, a devout Christian. It can not be said of him that he is incapable of the sentiment of love. Too often has he worn himself out in redeeming from slavery the wife of his choice. Under circumstances the most unfavorable, he has attained correct ideas of conjugal and paternal relations. Essentially religious, his trust in the justice of God has never wavered. In his darkest days and sorest trials he has firmly expected in patience the coming of the inevitable hour that would proclaim him free. At the end of a civil war in which the passions of men have been unbound, and violence of all kinds has been licensed, he stands unaccused of crime. He has approved himself a brave soldier, true to the supreme authority of the country in which Providence has cast his lot.

The American negro is not civilizing merely upon the surface, but interiorly. Leaving the stage of imitation and passing to that of comprehension, he is beginning to have ideas like ours. It will, however, be long before he can combine and generalize. At the best, as was re-

The necessarily
limited nature of
his advance.

marked on page 102, he will never be more than an overgrown child. Communities formed of such a social element will be wafted like clouds in the air, impelled by extraneous influences; for a long time, simple dogmas and ceremonies must be their guide. The social machine in which they are concerned must be able to work of itself; they would hardly be able to guide it. They must learn to decline ease, and be discontented with poverty, which is the great source of crime, the barrier to knowledge, the chief cause of human woe. In laboring to procure an individual competence, they must discern that they are becoming more

happy, more virtuous, more powerful. Not without reason do communities of European descent devote themselves to the pursuit of gain; for, though "eloquence, talent, rank, attract admiration, it is wealth alone that gives power."

In intellectual development the American negro has made progress; under a legal prohibition of formal education he has stealthily advanced. Without difficulty he acquires the humbler rudiments of knowledge; he learns to read and to cast up a simple account. In congregations of the Methodist and Baptist churches, to which Christian denominations he usually gives his preference, he prays with earnestness, and preaches with an eloquence often very touching from its quaint simplicity. The comic and plaintive songs which he is said to sing in his hours of relaxation have been listened to with admiration in all the gay capitals of Europe.

The motive for his production and protection as a source of wealth in connection with the internal slave-trade having ended, the census in future years will show a continuous decrease of his numbers in the Border States, and a relative increase in those of the Gulf. This will inevitably ensue if he be left to himself, with freedom of movement, and no legal repression or restraint. His instinct will lead him to do what is done by quadrupeds, by birds, and by fishes—to migrate to those regions where Nature is in unison with his constitution. He will not linger in a country of frosts if he be permitted to have access to one of warmth; and hence it is not likely that the future history of America will present the spectacle of his physiological modification: it will be the narrative of his geographical redistribution.

He will not change physiologically in America, but undergo redistribution.

The settlers on the Southern portion of the Atlantic

Westward diffusion
of the Southern
population.

border were comparatively undisturbed by immigration. They received but few additions from Europe. Natural instinct kept them uncontaminated by African blood.

Yet their diffusion to the West was rapid. Tennessee was admitted into the Union in 1796, Alabama in 1819, Mississippi in 1817. Of the trans-Mississippi states, Missouri was admitted in 1821. Political reasons connected with the balance of power in the United States Senate had unquestionably an influence in accelerating this advance, but those reasons were capable of practical embodiment only because of the peculiarities of Southern society. The cultivation of tobacco and cotton necessarily implied plantation life, and that implied a population sparsely settled. So remunerative, and therefore so engrossing, did these pursuits rapidly become, that none of that variety of industry characteristic of the North could here have place. There was not so strong a tendency to local clustering. Towns were less numerous; their population less.

Motion of the cen-
tre of population
and centre of
wealth.

The massing of the population North and South, and their relative advance westward, is indicated by the fact that the centre of population has hitherto slowly moved along a line about fifteen degrees north of west. At the first census it was near Washington City; in 1840 it was in the northwestern extremity of Virginia; at the breaking out of the war it was a little beyond Columbus, Ohio. The redistribution of the negro population just alluded to will carry it south, but the point at which it will cross the Mississippi River will turn altogether on the circumstances under which industry is reorganized in the tobacco and cotton states. Should a tide of white emigration flow in that direction, it would correspondingly carry the point at which the centre of population will cross the

river nearer to St. Louis than to Rock Island, to which it was formerly making its way. The centre of wealth is slowly following it, but the inclination of its path is to the south of west.

At the adoption of the Constitution the population North and South was nearly equal; each of the two regions had nearly two millions of inhabitants, if we include for the South half a million of slaves. Their territory to the Mississippi was nearly equal; it was about 400,000 square miles: for the North, 406,086; for the South, excluding Florida, 399,400. Their commerce was equal. The annual exports of the North were \$8,461,209; those of the South, \$8,555,074. The assessed values of property in the two were equal, being about four hundred millions of dollars.

Original equality of the North and South.

But very soon the North began to display a greater progressive power than the South: its advancement was seen in its population, its trade, its wealth.

This steady advancement of the North over the South has been popularly ascribed to the change of policy pursued by the federal government in abandoning direct taxation and obtaining a revenue from foreign commerce. But it should be remembered that this change did not occur until 1816, and the difference between the two may be recognized from the very beginning of the government.

The rapid progress of the North in wealth and power not due to government action.

Apart from any political considerations of strength to be derived from the multiplication of states, there were special causes that aided very powerfully in promoting the westward diffusion of the Southern people. Among these may be mentioned, 1st. The topographical construction of the country; for the Atlantic border sweeps round the limit of the Appalachian chain through Georgia and Alabama into Mississippi, presenting the great tertiary formations

Causes of the rapid population diffusion in the South.

alluded to in Chapter II.; 2d. A climate of uniformity and mildness, implying a sameness in agricultural products; 3d. Easy communication along the coast by sea; 4th. The existence of a great capital in front, New Orleans.

If such was the case in the countries that lay on the same parallels of latitude, as South Carolina and Georgia, there were equally powerful influences in Virginia, though it is intersected by the Appalachians, and has a variety of climate, and less facility for migratory movement. The production of tobacco, to which the rural industry of this state was largely turned, implies a very rapid exhaustion of the soil, that plant extracting the salts of potash, and being unable to grow where those compounds have been removed to a certain extent. A traveler over the Virginia Atlantic lowlands passes through tract after tract on which nothing but the *Pinus taeda*, a stunted tree, which can flourish on a less amount of potash salts than any others of the forest, is growing.

The rural economy
of the South com-
pels expatriation.

These "old fields," as they are significantly called, have been exhausted by tobacco. To restore to them the salts which have been thus removed was impracticable in an economical point of view. The planter was driven from his worn-out estate to the cheap and fertile lands of the West.

To this apparently trifling fact must be attributed an important result. I have already remarked that in the westward advancement of the human tide at the North nothing was abandoned; consolidation of what was already possessed went on simultaneously with diffusion. But in the tobacco-growing country vast spaces were thus literally surrendered back to Nature, and the spread of population, instead of being the result of an outgrowth, a surplus, was at the expense of the parent states.

As the organization of the Northwestern Territory by

the Ordinance of 1787 is the most important fact connected with the western development of the Northern States, so the acquisition of the Mississippi River stands in a similar relation to the western development of the South.

Question of the navigation of the Mississippi.

To the fathers of the republic the United States were the slender train of colonies seated on the Atlantic border. It was only by degrees that the political horizon extended beyond the Alleghany Mountains. Into those "back-settlements"—a term much used at that time, and not unaptly indicating the supposed position of the region—adventurers continually poured, attracted by its soil, popularly declared to be thrice as rich as the old colonial domains. Even Washington, so late as 1784, did not think that the ownership of the Mississippi would be of benefit to the republic, but, on the contrary, was afraid that it might tend to separate the Western country from the Atlantic States. His ideas slowly expanded from an Atlantic border to a Continental republic. He wished to draw commerce down the little streams that run through the old colonies. In these views he was by no means singular, the general opinion of the time being that the chief value of the Western lands was for the payment of the public debt.

Doubts respecting the policy of its acquisition.

By degrees, however, the pioneers in Kentucky began to make their influence felt, more particularly in the States of Virginia and North Carolina, whence many of them had come; and negotiations were entered into with Spain (1785) to yield the free navigation of the Mississippi. This, however, through her minister Guardoqui, she positively refused to do, offering, however, a commercial treaty on other points which would have been very favorable to the Middle and Northern States. This led at once to an antagonism be-

Spain refuses a free navigation.

tween the South and the North, the former insisting on the acquisition of the river, the latter being willing to yield it for the sake of the advantages of the proposed commercial treaty. Meantime some American property was seized by the Spaniards at Natchez. The exasperated Western men, aided by filibusters from Virginia, were not slow in retaliating. They thought that they were being sacrificed to the cupidity of the Atlantic States, and determined that they would neither pay tribute to the Spaniards, who held the mouth of the river, nor wait for the internal improvement recommended by Washington; nay, more, they contemplated resistance to Congress. The older states at this time had no conception of the importance of the Valley, nor of the fact that there was an absolute political necessity to have an outlet to the sea for its produce. The northern portion of them adopted the idea of Washington, that the possession of the river would be of more harm than good; that it would turn the front of the republic, or lead to a division.

The Western pioneers are resolved to have it.

Mr. Adams, referring subsequently to these events, observes: "The Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Jay) recommended to Congress a compromise with Spain, by the proposal of a commercial treaty, in which, for an adequate equivalent of commercial advantages to the United States, they, without renouncing the right to the navigation of the Mississippi, should stipulate a forbearance of the exercise of that right for a term of twenty-five or thirty years, to which the duration of the treaty should be limited."

Mr. Adams's account of the domestic dispute arising from this question.

"This proposal excited the most acrimonious and irritated struggle between the delegations of the Northern and Southern divisions of the Union which had ever yet occurred, the representation from the seven Northern

states unanimously agreeing to authorize the stipulation recommended by the secretary, and the five Southern states, with the exception of one member, being equally earnest for rejecting it. The State of Delaware was not then represented. In the animated and passionate debates on a series of questions originating in this inauspicious controversy, the delegates from Massachusetts, and among them especially Rufus King, took a warm and distinguished part in favor of the proposition of the secretary, while the opposition to it was maintained with an earnestness equally intense, and with ability not less powerful, by the delegation from Virginia, and among them pre-eminently by Mr. Monroe. The adverse interests and opposite views of policy brought into conflict by these transactions produced a coldness and mutual alienation between the northern and southern divisions of the Union which is not extinguished to this day. It gave rise to rankling jealousies and festering prejudices, not only of the North and the South against each other, but of each section against the ablest and most virtuous patriots of the other."

Washington's opinions in 1786 respecting the opening of the Mississippi are given in a letter he wrote in June of that year to Henry Lee. Washington's letter to Lee. "The advantages with which the inland navigation of the rivers Potomac and James is pregnant must strike every mind that reasons upon the subject; but there is, I perceive, a diversity of sentiment respecting the benefits and consequences which may flow from the free and immediate use of the Mississippi. My opinion of this matter has been uniformly the same, and no light in which I have been able to consider the subject is likely to change it. It is neither to relinquish nor to push our claim to this navigation, but, in the mean while, to open all the communications which Nature has afforded between the

Atlantic States and the Western territory, and to encourage the use of them to the utmost. In my judgment, it is matter of very serious concern to the well-being of the former to make it the interest of the latter to trade with them, without which the ties of consanguinity, which are weakening every day, will soon be no bond, and we shall be no more, a few years hence, to the inhabitants of that country than the British and Spaniards are at this day—not so much, indeed, because commercial connexions, it is well known, lead to others, and, united, are difficult to be broken. These must take place with the Spaniards if the navigation of the Mississippi is opened. Clear I am that it would be for the interest of the Western settlers as low down the Ohio as the Big Kenhawa, and back to the lakes, to bring their produce through one of the channels I have named; but the way must be cleared, and made easy and obvious to them, or else the ease with which people glide down streams will give a different bias to their thinking and acting. Whenever the new states become so populous and so extended to the westward as really to need it, there will be no power which can deprive them of the use of the Mississippi. Why, then, should we prematurely urge a matter which is displeasing, and may produce disagreeable consequences, if it is our interest to let it sleep?”

Jefferson, writing from Paris (1787) to Madison, says:

Jefferson's letter to Madison. “I have had great opportunities of knowing the character of the people who inhabit that country, and I will venture to say that the act which abandons the navigation of the Mississippi is an act of separation between the Eastern and Western country. It is a relinquishment of five parts out of eight of the territory of the United States—an abandonment of the fairest subject for the payment of our public debts, and the chaining those debts on our own necks in perpetuation.

I have the utmost confidence in the honest intentions of those who concur in this measure, but I lament their want of acquaintance with the character and physical advantages of the people, who, right or wrong, will suppose their interests sacrificed on this occasion to the contrary interests of that part of the Confederacy in possession of present power. If they declare themselves a separate people, we are incapable of a single effort to retain them. Our citizens can never be induced, either as militia or as soldiers, to go there to cut the throats of their own brothers and sons, or rather to be themselves the subjects instead of the perpetrators of the parricide. Nor would that country quit the cost of being retained against the will of its inhabitants, could it be done. But it can not be done. They are able already to rescue the navigation of the Mississippi out of the hands of Spain, and to add New Orleans to their own territory; they will be joined by the inhabitants of Louisiana."

By the Convention of 1787 the Mississippi Question was referred to the new government, with a declaration that the free navigation of the river was a clear and essential right of the United States. The controversy was finally settled by the French acquisition of Louisiana, and the purchase of that country from Napoleon by Mr. Jefferson.

Though there have been many fortunate events in American history, perhaps there has not been one more fortunate than this; for, rising superior to the traditions that surrounded him, Mr. Jefferson broke through constitutional ties, and, appealing to the good sense of the nation, purchased Louisiana, and with it the ownership of the Mississippi. He gave the republic the great valley, conferred on it the great river, on which Americans were only tolerated by the Spanish treaty of 1795, and afforded it a free expan-

The navigation at length acquired.

Great impulse to material development in the purchase of Louisiana.

sion to the Pacific Ocean. Under a New-England President that important measure would not have been accomplished; the opportune moment, once permitted to pass by, would never have returned. At this time the national ideas of New England had not surpassed those that were combated by Franklin before the Revolution. According to them, the American people ought not to be encouraged to spread beyond the Alleghany Mountains, the Atlantic border being their proper and limited abode. As it was, Massachusetts viewed, not without concern, the introduction of new territories and prospective states, which might neutralize her weight in the political balance, and, in conformity with these views, resisted as far as she could the reception of Louisiana as a state in 1812.

In the description of Northern diffusion I have alluded to the effect of the Irish and German immigration upon the American element.

It remains now to follow the same course with the Southern. In this case, however, the influence arose from an exceedingly extraneous cause—the negro.

The American element at the South guarded itself with the strictest jealousy from any such baleful contamination. Public opinion, resting upon natural instincts, absolutely prohibited it. The white population of the slave states intuitively appreciated what physiologists have determined by observation, that nations degenerate in proportion to their mixture with inferior races. Every where was recognized the necessity of excluding the faintest trace of color. Intermixture with base blood leads to a more rapid degeneration than the most noxious climate. The white population of the South maintained itself in a condition of purity; the adulteration that took place was altogether experienced by the black.

The white population of the South preserves its physiological purity.

Not less than twenty-three varieties or crosses are enumerated as arising from the intermixture of the white, the Indian, and the negro. They are all intrinsically and necessarily inferior to the pure white.

The black population undergoes rapid adulteration.

But, though the white race in the South was thus maintaining its physiological purity, it was undergoing change, and becoming yearly more and more homogeneous. The sparse population of plantation life implied a restricted circle of friendships, a narrow range of intermarriage. Hence the origin of the remark, often made in the South, that every one is every one's cousin. The infusion of extraneous blood of equal value which took place so largely at the North was here impossible because of the absence of immigration. The distinctive lineaments of the Southern whites continually became more sharply, more exclusively defined. A sameness in the population, originating in this manner, was re-enforced by a sameness in pursuits. There was a common direction of thought, and in the institution of slavery a common political bond.

Continually increasing homogeneity of the whites.

Thus, side by side, in the free states and in the slave states, partly through an initial social difference, partly through climate, interests, and avocations of life, two distinct nationalities were tending to form.

The North and the South become continually more distinctly separate.

In the North the population was in a state of unceasing activity; there was corporeal and mental restlessness. Magnificent cities in all directions were arising; the country was intersected with canals, railroads, telegraphs; wherever navigation was possible there were steam-boats in the rivers. Companies for banking, manufacturing, commercial purposes, were often concentrating many millions of

Occupations and condition of the Northern population.

capital. There were all kinds of associations for religious, charitable, educational purposes. Churches, hospitals, schools, abounded. The foreign commerce at length rivaled that of the most powerful nations of Europe.

This wonderful spectacle of social development was the result of INDIVIDUALISM, operating in an un-
Its governing principle is Individualism. bounded theatre of action. Every one was seeking to do all that he could for himself.

But under this splendid prosperity great evils lay concealed. The family tie was weakened. Children left their home the moment they could take care of themselves. Life became an Arab warfare. The recognized standard of social position was wealth. No other criterion could be established, for all were originally on a level, and wealth became the only distinction. There was an irresistible tendency to the subdivision and scattering of property.

Occupations and condition of the Southern population. In the South, if the ostensible prosperity was less, the actual happiness was not inferior. Society was in a condition of repose; the planters were hospitable and proud. Few, except those in affluent circumstances, had been in foreign countries; and, unacquainted with the fictitious wants of civilization, the people were content with their own lot, in their simplicity imagining that there was nothing better in the world. The youth did not despise rural avocations, and rush to the towns in pursuit of instant fortune. Mr. Wise says: "We have no cities, but we have an ameliorated country population, civilized in the solitude, gracious in the amenities of life, refined and conservative in social habits. We have little associated, but more individual wealth. We have no mechanical arts. Our labor is better employed than in manufacturing implements for ourselves. We have no commerce, but we supply its pabulum. We have slaves under a benign

domestic rule, and masters having leisure to cultivate morals, manners, philosophy, politics."

Like the monastic institutions of the Middle Ages, plantation life tends to distribute population evenly. Manufacturing and commercial life tends to concentrate it. Communities of this kind may become excessively wealthy; they may be stimulated into rapid improvement, but they are always liable to violent social oscillations. The commercial speculator may be the owner of millions to-day, and a ruined man to-morrow. He can push forward his operations for gain, and crowd great results into a single hour. The agriculturist can not hasten the processes on which he depends; he must wait the slow movement of Nature and the seasons, and hence in his communities there is less excitement, less anxiety, and less of the delirium of life. Not but that wealth will show even in such communities its inevitable tendency to concentration. In the South there were rich planters and poor whites; families living in princely affluence, and others struggling for existence in penury.

Great cities are great solitudes. In their crowded streets wickedness successfully hides itself—a fair exterior too well conceals the rottenness within. When we reflect how little the passions of men are under control, the open dissoluteness of one community being equaled by the secret crime of another—in Protestant England the number of illegitimates in 1845 was 70 per thousand of the whole number of births; in Catholic France it was 71—we shall, perhaps, be disposed to suspect that the unconcealable vice of the Southern plantations, openly manifested in the continually increasing proportion of mulatto births, was not without its invisible equivalent in the awful prostitution of the Northern cities.

I.—O

INDIVIDUALISM was the governing principle of the North, INDEPENDENCE that of the South. In the former, each man was pursuing his own welfare against all the rest; in the latter, apart from the rest. The one was connected with the competitions of compact society, the other with the isolation of plantation life.

Governing principles of the North and the South.

Each year the social divergence of these two great communities was becoming more marked. It was obvious to every observant person that it would at length find political expression. Intercommunication, which so powerfully smooths the asperities of rivalry, did not keep pace with the increase of population and territorial spread.

Continual tendency of the two communities to divergence.

CHAPTER XII.

DIGRESSION ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF INDIVIDUALISM IN THE ANGLO-NORMAN RACE.

The transition of the English from a stagnant to a progressive condition is due to the influence of Individualism, which, coming into operation as a consequence of the Norman conquest, gradually gained strength in the Middle Ages, and received a sudden impulse from the discovery of America and the legislation of Henry VII. Its immediate issues were, development of the maritime power of England, colonization of Atlantic North America, and partition of the English-speaking race into two portions, insular and continental. The unrestrained individualism of the latter in the free states of America is the cause of their extraordinary prosperity and political progress.

THE North founds her political system on the individual, the South founds hers on the family; hence the former is powerfully progressive, the latter conservative.

Both these political systems spring from conditions that may be traced in the ancestral Anglo-Norman stock. They are the legitimate issue of what had been taking place for many centuries in England. Not without curiosity and instruction may we therefore trace their rise. A philosophical study of the course either of England or of America will cast light on that of the other. American history can not be understood—no true interpretation of the events of American life can be given, except by a profound study of English history and English life.

I propose, therefore, to devote a few pages to a description of the circumstances under which individualism arose in England, and the extraordinary events to which it has given birth, to show that, so long as this principle was without force, the nation was unprogressive; that as soon

The study of English history needful for the interpretation of American life.

Loyalty and ecclesiasticism gradually displaced in England by individualism.

as loyalty and ecclesiasticism, which alone, in her earlier days, governed her life, gave way to individualism, and every man was free to seek his own advancement, there was a rapid development. Her later political revolutions were the expression of that principle, as was likewise her religious revolution—the acceptance of the Reformation. It was the assertion of the right of conscience in the individual as against authority in the Church.

There are two great facts in the history of England :

The periods of stagnation and development of English life. 1st. An apparent social stagnation, exhibited by the population for much more than a thousand years, from the fifth to the end of the sixteenth century.

2d. A wonderful material and intellectual development displayed subsequently.

We may watch the shadow on a sun-dial without being able to detect that it is moving; if, however, we examine it at intervals, from time to time, the change is very obvious.

So with society, we may read its continuous history without recognizing any essential change; but if our observation be directed in succession to epochs some distance apart, the movement, whether direct or retrograde, may be clearly discerned.

Let us try to realize the social condition of England during the first of those periods—then we may compare it mentally with the same country as we know it now.

Depressing effect of the Saxon and Norman conquests. After the Romans abandoned it, there had been invasions of Picts and Scots, invasions of Saxons, invasions of Danes. Personal liberty, half struggling into life, again and again was lost. The light of literature, kindled by Bede and King Alfred, by Alcuin and Erigena, as well as that upon the domestic hearthstone, was extinguished at the melancholy sound of the evening curfew-bell.

From the Norman Conquest to the fifteenth century the hopes of the country lay in the monasteries. Monastic institutions were the receptacle into which were brought the ameliorating influences of foreign countries, especially the influences of Italy and Spain. They were the foci from which issued the feeble glimmerings of knowledge. In them were fondly cherished the poor remains of ancient literature; in them were conceived those noble ecclesiastical structures, which, more than any thing else, softened the brutal manners of the times. In those tranquil retreats the tonsured brethren often found better occupation than in the weary telling of their beads.

In 1430 Æneas Sylvius, who subsequently became Pope Pius II., visited England and Scotland. Of Social condition in the Middle Ages. one of the most influential Italian families, familiar with the highest contemporary civilization, a great officer of the Church, engaged in a mission of much responsibility, a keen observer of affairs, and, like many others of his countrymen, though an ecclesiastic, a man of the world, his observations and remarks are of the utmost value. To his eye the people among whom he journeyed were in a semi-barbarous state. In the north, the houses, in what were called cities, were built of stones put together without mortar; the roofs were often of turf. The cottages had no other door than a dried and stiffened bull's hide. In Scotland the forest peasantry lived on the coarsest food, often on the bark of trees; bread was accounted a rare delicacy. Over the border, in England, it was but little better. From one of the monasteries where he had lain—in the monasteries good living might always be found—he had brought a supply of bread and wine. The English women gratified their curiosity by breaking the bread into fragments, and handing it to one another to smell and giggle at. With no little graphic effect, he relates the adventures of a night

spent with a hundred women, sitting in the smoke of a blazing chimneyless fire, spinning hemp. In London itself, the prominent object was a crazy old bridge over the Thames.

At the end of the twelfth century the houses of the mechanics and burgesses in that metropolis were of wood, thatched with straw, or covered over with reeds. In the country the cottages were constructed of stakes driven into the ground, interwoven with wattles, plastered with mud, and covered with flakes of bark or the boughs of trees. Society had at that time become separated into two portions, a rich and a poor, without any intervening middle class. The baron and the ecclesiastic engrossed all that was worth having. They left the fen to the peasant. The death-rate was fearfully high, and during many centuries the population remained in an almost stationary condition. A shiftless agriculture furnished sparing supplies of food; hence there was an unceasing check on the number of births. Autumnal fevers, originating in hundreds of miles of undrained marsh, spread a periodical desolation through the cabins. The lot of the lower—the laboring classes, for many ages had undergone no amelioration; their health and social happiness were equally uncared for. In a political sense, they were only animals valuable for what their work could produce. They were expected to manifest loyalty to the king, and obedience to the church. They could not better their condition. There was no career open for them—except to the grave.

But how was it with the higher class, who represented whatever intelligence the country contained? After the lapse of so many centuries, is it possible for us to discern the mental progress they were making, or to satisfy ourselves that they were stagnant too?

Geologists, from a laborious study of the petrified re-

Helpless and hopeless condition of the lower classes.

Gradual change in the higher classes indicated by architectural changes. mains they find in the earth, animals and plants turned into stone, arrive at conclusions of undoubted certainty respecting the natural world. They show how climates have changed, and how the warmth of the globe has declined; they show how there has been an age of invertebrate life, an age of reptiles, an age of mammals; how race after race has become extinct, and how, in a due order of ascending progression, many new-comers have appeared.

Are there then for the historian also, relics of the past, capable of guiding him to conclusions equally true and reliable—evidences presenting an embodiment of a thing so shadowy and intangible as the mental progress of man?

The churches, the abbeys, the monasteries are the petrified thoughts of our ancestors of the Middle Ages—their hopes, their aspirations, turned into stone.

It is said that while the two armies lay face to face the night before the battle of Hastings, the Saxons spent the hours in drinking and dancing, the Normans in devotion and prayer. The gloomy spirit of the conquerors found its expression in their architecture, for architecture not only indicates the wealth, taste, civilization of a people, it is a mark of their science and art; above all, it reveals their social character. The Norman ecclesiastical edifices, with their characteristic semicircular arches, their thick and solid walls, unbuttressed and standing firm by their own mass, their clumsy, stunted columns, incapable of relief by such inadequate devices as spirals and lozenge-cut net-work, the capitals plain, or at the best decorated with foliage or animal designs, the narrow and circular-headed windows, grouped into twos or threes, and reluctantly giving ingress to light—those gloomy churches were in unison with the spirit of their gloomy worshipers.

But what is the meaning of the change that steals over these edifices about the close of the twelfth century?

The heavy Norman
is replaced by the
elegant Gothic.

Whence come those pointed arches, lofty in proportion to their span, the single massive column transmuted into many frail and clustering ones, the high-pitched roof, with its pinnacles and spires? What is the tone of thought revealed by the architecture of a hundred years later—the gradually widening arches, the lancet-shaped window, no longer presenting one, or, at the most, two divisions, but separated by numerous and fantastic mullions into leaves, roses, wheels, fans, fitted with gorgeously stained glass, and letting in the many-colored light? What is the meaning of those ceilings vaulted and covered with tracery, pendants sustained upon nothing, canopies with delicate lace-work, and fretted roofs—what of those bold buttresses that give strength, the pre-calculated strength demanded by the thin and lofty walls? What is the historical interpretation of this replacement of the clumsy semicircular arch by the beautiful pointed Gothic? Is it that the Norman is becoming weary of the gloom of earth, and is seeking more light from heaven?

Peter the Venerable, the friend and protector of Abelard, relates that when he resided at Cordova, in Spain, he met with many learned men from England who were devoting themselves to study among the Moors. This was near the beginning of the twelfth century. Through these ecclesiastics a great intellectual change was inaugurated in the British islands. It found an embodiment in a change of architecture. That which we speak of as the Gothic style was of Arabian origin, introduced into Western Europe by the Spanish Moors. It left in many parts of England superb examples of its beauty, and reached a splendid culmination in such cathedrals as those of Strasburg and Cologne.

This change originates in Arabian influences,

To these immortal conceptions there is a wide remove

from the structures of split oak logs, covered in with reeds, of the middle period of Anglo-Saxon life. The church that Paulinus built at York, in the seventh century, with its leaky roof, and windows of linen cloth, or of latticed wood, through which the little birds flew in and out, building their nests in the interior, and defiling the very altar itself, was the humble precursor of a matchless pile, with its marigold lights, and windows representing in glass a mimic embroidery, or recording, in gorgeous hues, the incidents of the Holy Bible. Succeeding architects have not failed to express their admiration and astonishment at many of these grand edifices, which exemplify the highest perfection of mechanical science, both in preparatory calculation and actual execution, by exhibiting the greatest possible effect produced with the least possible means.

Architecture had been changing in England because thought had been changing. The accumulated sufferings of many ages, through foreign conquest and domestic war, had twice arrested all innate power of expansion. In a politically crushed community an individual is nothing. The Romanized Briton had been destroyed by the Saxon, the Saxon subjugated by the Norman. Of the great mass of the population in the twelfth century, it may be said that their life was no more than waiting for death. The thought of the nation was turned to religion; in that it found consolation and rest.

But this architectural transition implies a transition in national sentiment—a gradual emergence from that forlorn state prevailing in the tenth century, and spoken of contemptuously even by the monks as too base to produce so much as a heresy. It indicates a passage from that to a higher and better condition. It was the consequence of a mental change in the higher classes, the cause of a corresponding one in the lower.

And indicates a
commencing men-
tal change in the
nation.

William of Malmesbury, speaking of the degraded manners of the Anglo-Saxons, says: "Their nobles, devoted to gluttony and voluptuousness, never visited the church, but the matins and the mass were run over to them by a hurrying priest in their bed-chambers before they rose, themselves not listening. The common people were a prey to the more powerful; their property was seized, their bodies dragged away to distant countries; their maidens were either thrown into a brothel or sold for slaves. Drinking day and night was the general pursuit; vices, the companions of inebriety, followed, effeminating the manly mind." This worn-out and degenerate race was supplanted by the sedate, the austere Normans, lovers of magnificent edifices, fond of pomp, avaricious of personal distinction, and seeking an individual and earthly immortality.

Deplorable condition of Anglo-Saxon life.

Characteristic individualism of the higher Normans.

By degrees the bacchanal Saxon monks yielded to the new intrusive influence, imperceptibly imbibing a Norman thirst for knowledge. Lanfranc, a Lombard by birth, who had founded the Abbey of Bec, and revived in it a taste for Latin literature, an energetic and an able man, was brought to England by William the Conqueror, and made Archbishop of Canterbury. In all directions, through his agency, schools were established; there was one connected with every cathedral, and almost with every prominent monastery. The collection of libraries and the copying of books were organized. In some of the large institutions it was made obligatory on every abbot to keep a good writer. Among the higher classes there were examples of distinction in learning; thus Henry I., the son of the Conqueror, received the name of Beauclerc in allusion to his scholarly attainments. The transcribing of books was an amusement of the leisure hours of many great ecclesi-

Gradual amelioration under the Normans.

astics. A rivalry in neatness of transcription gradually arose, and as fast as books became accessible they were multiplied. Latin was thus disseminated—an incident of no small value in giving tone to the commencing vernacular literature.

In the development of that literature the Greek language took no part. In consequence of the political relations of the Roman Church since the revolt of the Popes from their Byzantine sovereigns, it had become almost unknown. Two hundred years after the time of which I am speaking there was hardly any one in Italy who could translate the easiest sentence in it. When the study of it was revived, it told with singular force on the tone of religious thought throughout all Latin Europe.

The Norman monks at first attempted the composition of chronicles, annals, histories. In this they were encouraged by that inborn instinct of their race which found gratification in the building of edifices intended to last forever. Individualism was beginning to emerge. They hoped to live after death. Thus the Count of Gloucester desired William of Malmesbury to write his history, and the Bishop of Lincoln induced Henry of Huntingdon to compile his *Annals*.

English literature was born of minstrelsy. Vagrant poets, who, if deficient in voice, attached themselves to jongleurs, wandered all over the country with their music and merry-andrew performances. As the vagabond exhibitor of Punch and Judy still attracts delighted audiences to hear his oft-repeated story of the trials, sorrows, and final triumph of the hunchback hero, so those

“mynstales, chaunters, and janglers,” with their gitterns and tabrets, fiddles, trumpets, harps, and pipes, never failed of a welcome.

Our more refined manners would be shocked at the prof-

They seek to perpetuate their personal history.

And hence they patronize vernacular literature.

ligate obscenity of their "losel tales and fayr gestes." Not unfrequently the point of their story bore upon the gay life of an ecclesiastic. Among the more gifted of the brotherhood, some found their way to the hall of the baron and chamber of the ladies. There were king's minstrels and queen's minstrels, and even those in the pay of bishops, whose banquets were enlivened by their songs as soon as grace had been said.

The monks, from these their lewd enemies, caught the infection, happily, however, directing their exertions to better and higher things. Historical poems, like those of Wace and Benoit, incorporating the story of the siege of Troy, and the adventures of Ulysses and Æneas, with English history, attained a wonderful celebrity. The use of Latin, a foreign and dead language, had formerly restricted such effusions to persons of education, but in the vernacular, "the moder tonge," they were the delight of every one, from Mathilda and pretty Alice, "Bel Aeliz," the Queens of Henry I., down to the humblest rustic.

There was thus a gradual improvement in English society throughout the reigns of its French kings. As a recollection of the national suffering caused by invasions and conquests was lost, the gayety of the minstrel, the sobriety of the friar, the natural wonders of the alchemist, began to exert their influence. It would lead me too far from my present purpose to describe how all these agencies in reality originated in movements that had been occurring in Spain. Thence came the sentiment that could no longer be satisfied with the dim religious light that streamed through gloomy Norman windows, a sentiment that found congeniality in splendid and lofty, bright and beautiful buildings.

And delight in a
more beautiful
architecture.

In the consideration of the history of England in this

Physical condition of the English in this their stagnant state. her stagnant period, if we turn from the intellectual to the physical, we shall find the conclusions at which we have arrived corroborated. We need not search through the works of those who have treated of the social condition of the country in its successive ages for information—a far more unquestionable form of evidence is before us.

Stationary condition of the population. If the circumstances under which a community is living be as advantageous as possible, that community will double its numbers in the short space of twenty-five years. The “generative force of society,” as writers who have studied these subjects designate that instinct which gives rise to the multiplication of individuals, remains at all periods unchanged in intensity, but the resistances to life—the want of food, of clothing, of shelter, of comforts generally, keep the number down. These resistances may assume such a proportion as to make a society stationary in number for any assignable time—nay, more, they may be so powerful as to effect its diminution. The population of England at the time of the Norman Conquest was about two millions. But did it double in twenty-five years? In the time of William III., at the close of the seventeenth century, it had done little more than reach five and a quarter millions.

The causes of that condition. What, then, does this stationary condition of the population mean? It means food obtained with hardship, insufficient clothing, personal uncleanness, cabins that could not keep out the weather, the destructive effect of cold and heat, miasm, want of sanitary provisions, absence of physicians, uselessness of shrine-cure, the deceptiveness of miracles in which society was putting its trust, or—to sum up a long catalogue of sorrows, wants, and sufferings in one term—it means a high death-rate.

But more—it means deficient births. And what does that point out? Marriage postponed, licentious life, private wickedness, demoralized society.

To an American who lives in a country that was yesterday an interminable and impenetrable desert, but which to-day is filling with a population doubling itself every twenty-five years at the prescribed rate, this awful waste of actual and contingent life can not but be a most surprising fact. His curiosity will lead him to inquire what kind of system that could have been which was pretending to guide and develop society, and which must be held responsible for this prodigious destruction, excelling, in its insidious result, war, pestilence, and famine combined—insidious, for men were actually believing that it secured their highest temporal interests. How different now! The same geographical surface is sustaining ten times the population of that day, and sending forth its emigrating swarms. Let him who looks back with veneration to the past settle in his own mind what such a system could have been worth.

In a nation there may have been continuous development, and yet, at the end of a thousand years, no well-marked social advance. In British society two arrests of progressive movement had occurred—the first occasioned by the Saxons, the second by the Normans. After the Norman Conquest the work had all to be recommenced.

The population, then about to make a third, and, as it proved, successful advance, must be regarded as intrinsically superior to either of its predecessors. The enterprising Normans, issuing from their native seats, had ravaged the coasts of Europe, and settled permanently in France. They obtained possessions in Italy and Sicily, and made their mil-

Inborn disposition
of the Normans for
personal adventure.

itary prowess felt as far as Palestine. A support extorted from the earth by hard agricultural labor creates a cautious, self-denying population, but successful piracy breeds lavish expenditure, a taste for personal ornament, splendid dwellings, delicate food. What is gained with ease is spent with prodigality. Among the worn-out Saxons, crushed down by foreign invasion and domestic discord, the vigorous Normans were infused.

An intrusive race permanently settling in a country becomes gradually modified until it is in accordance with the climate and physical circumstances surrounding it. Assimilated to the population upon whom it had forced itself, it imparts to them and receives from them an impress, the depth of which depends on their relative masses.

Three hundred years after the Norman Conquest, so completely had this assimilation between the Normans and the Saxons taken place, partly through climate and partly through intermarriage, that a homogeneous product—the English people—had arisen.

A very important fact indicates the completion of this change. It was resolved in the reign of Edward III. that all the laws of the realm should be written in English instead of Norman-French, as had heretofore been the case.

It has been remarked that ecclesiasticism and loyalty were the early guides of Anglo-Norman society. We have now to relate how these were gradually sapped, and in their place individualism steadily emerged.

At the Conquest the Norman clergy had forced themselves into the seats of their Saxon predecessors, under the direct authority of the Pope. Loyal at first to the Catholic power which had thus sanctified their usurpation, they exhibit-

They become assimilated with the Saxons, and impart to them that quality.

Epoch of the distinct recognition of the English people.

They possess the Norman individualism.

ed a declining submissiveness as time wore on, and during the life of Wickliffe were ready for revolt. By the advice of that great man, Edward III. refused to do homage to the Pope.

To use the phraseology I have adopted in my "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," the nation was passing through its "Age of Faith," and approaching its "Age of Reason." Monkish legends and miracles that had satisfied it in the eleventh century, could do so no more. A craving for knowledge was manifested in all directions. It was this that gave such special importance to Wickliffe's translation of the Bible. So in the individual, as manhood is reached, nursery tales are looked back upon with a smile. Parental discipline must change. Trivial motives and modes of appeal that once had force, lose all their power. The family can now be controlled only by addressing its understanding.

A fortunate circumstance paralyzed the English ecclesiastical establishment, incapacitating it from any vigorous opposition to popular progress, and, indeed, to an extent by no means insignificant, making it promote that progress. When, in the reign of Henry III., certain English dignitaries appeared before the Pope, he was astonished at their splendid costumes of gold brocade, and involuntarily exclaimed, revealing the policy that had so long animated the Italian court, "Truly England is a garden of delight. It is an unexhausted well. Where so much abounds much may be acquired." Matthew Paris speaks of the detestable papal extortions, and affirms that the revenues taken by the foreign clergy from the kingdom were thrice that of the king himself. The king and the Pope were thus competitors in extorting money from the Church, and, as the exactions of the latter were greater and more galling than those of the former, disloyalty to Rome increased.

They struggle
against Italian
ecclesiasticism,

Large incomes were withdrawn by hundreds of Italian priests, "who had neither seen nor cared to see their flocks." The importunate exactions of the sovereign pontiff, who, seizing much, was ever demanding more, perpetually checked the English priesthood in its tendency to Roman affiliation, and necessarily weakened it in its domestic position.

But, in spite of this paralysis, the Church, possessing more than half the landed property and military tenures of the country, besides tithes and many other official dues, was able to hold, for a time, a paramount control in the government. All the great state officers were ecclesiastics. The Archbishop of Canterbury had more than once been a most formidable antagonist to the king. Impatient of such rivalry, the powerful barons, therefore, never ceased their exertions to exclude ecclesiastics from the national councils and political power; and as enlightenment and heresy spread among the common people, it came to pass at length that the Church had three antagonists to encounter—the king, the nobles, the people. Before such a confederacy it was impossible for her to stand. This gradual weakening was the secret of the often-remarked feeble resistance she exhibited when finally assaulted by Henry VIII.

It is true that among these confederated powers there had been in the play of political events occasional but short-lived complications. Thus Henry IV. was constrained by his position to rely on the clergy, and, indeed, attempted to found his dynasty on the principle of a united church and state. For this he conceded to his ecclesiastical ally the power of suppressing heresy by fire. Under him the first English martyrs were burned. But, abetted by the nobles, the common people were persistent in their attacks on the "possessed church," as it

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And eventually assert their religious independence.

was designated. The spirit that burst forth with so much violence at the Reformation was steadily gathering force. Sentiments premonitory of what was coming were every where current. The remark that "there was too much singing in the churches and too little edification" foreshadowed the approach of the Puritan. The alienated, perhaps it might be said demoralized condition of the better laity, was shown by the literature circulating among them. Books written in English, such as "the Lantern of Light," were so filled with denunciations against ecclesiastical immorality and extravagance that it became customary to require suspected persons to clear themselves by oath of the possession of them. To have such "English books," to hear them read, to sell or borrow them, was regarded as a certain indication of heresy.

But, though the Reformers, in the attack they made on the "possessed church," thus occupied themselves with doctrinal matters, it was not so with the government until a much later period. With a wise policy, the kings struck at the wealth of the Church, recognizing in that the source of her power. They cared nothing about her theological dogmas, and acted upon the principle that if her riches could be seized her doctrines were of no moment. In the early period of their action, their conduct seemed so justifiable that many ecclesiastics were reconciled to their policy. Thus the revenues of the first religious houses dissolved were devoted to the spread of knowledge among the people by being settled on various colleges in Oxford and Cambridge. The avowed object was promotion of learning. Setting aside the case of the Templars, in which there was a special political motive, these suppressions may be considered as having commenced during Wickliffe's life. In the course of time, other and less justifiable intentions appeared, as indeed might be expected; and when these suppressions were

completed by Henry VIII., the revenues acquired passed to a large extent into the treasury of the king.

If from the religious we turn to the political aspect of the nation, proofs of gradual amelioration are seen. In the reigns of Stephen and John the baronial castles were dens of robbers. The Saxon chronicle records how men and women were caught and dragged into those strongholds, hung up by their thumbs or feet, fire applied to them, knotted strings twisted round their heads, and many other torments inflicted to extort ransom. But in

Gradual improvement in their moral condition.

the time of Richard III., so great had been the improvement, and so discriminating had moral criticism become, that the crimes he perpetrated could no longer be endured. His memory was handed down to us by his own contemporaries as infamous. Famines, such as those of 1230 and 1258, which reduced the laboring classes to dire extremity, and compelled persons of higher rank to feed upon offal, became less and less frequent. It is said that fifteen thousand persons died of hunger in London alone during the famine of 1258. A more settled condition enabled the peasant to pursue his labors, and enjoy their product in peace.

So long as Norman England was passing through her "Age of Faith," under the guidance of Catholic forms, her training was altogether of a moral, not of an intellectual kind. Freedom of thought was sternly repressed. The intention was to prepare men for life in another world, not to render them prosperous and happy in this. But as, in this predestined development, the nation grew through its period of youth, and approached that of maturity—its "Age of Reason," new sentiments, answering to those we remark in personal life, began to be displayed. A desire of

Increasing disposition for every individual to better his personal condition.

every individual to better his own condition became the characteristic feature of society.

While slavery existed in England the gratification of such hopes was of course impossible; but the Gradual enfeeblement of the aristocracy. destruction of many of the great proprietors in the Wars of the Roses, and other civil commotions, the unsettlement of the Church possessions, by degrees gave freedom of action to the lower class. As skillful advantage had been taken of the Church relations with Italy to break down ecclesiastical power, so Henry VII., with equal wisdom, broke down the aristocracy. As with the Church, so with them; their influence lay altogether in the possession of land. By permitting them to alienate their estates, and giving a secure title to every purchaser, he at once gratified their wishes and destroyed their power. A vast number of small proprietors soon appeared, too insignificant to cause the government any farther alarm.

Things were in this condition when Columbus made The voyage of Columbus. his successful voyage. The immediate effect of the discovery of America was that the commercial front of Europe was changed. The rich cities of Italy were ruined.

It is hardly possible for us now to appreciate the wonderful social influence of that event. If during the Crusades multitudes rushed into Its extraordinary effect on the English. Palestine to secure, as the reward of their piety and privation in this life, happiness in the next, so now there was a delirium for obtaining an instant, a present individual prosperity.

In England successful commerce led at once to a new distribution of population. Individualism was rapidly developed. Self-interest displaced loyalty. Wealth, gained by mercantile ventures, enabled the successful trader to buy lands of the embarrassed noble. A class of men,

steadily increasing in political power from that day to this, gradually emerged, trained by their pursuits to large and liberal conceptions.

A superficial glance at the commercial condition of the

Rapid develop-
ment of trade and
commerce among
them.

country shows the progress it was making.

The Jews, who first appeared in England in the train of William the Conqueror, were for a long time the chief foreign traders. In this they followed the instincts of their race, abhorring agriculture and manual labor; but, in the reign of Henry III., commerce had been established with all the ports of Europe from Norway to Italy. Richard III. licensed ships to go to Iceland. Columbus says that he himself sailed a hundred leagues beyond that island, and that the English carried on a considerable trade with it. That great discoverer would have found a patron in Henry VII. if he had not succeeded in inducing Isabella to promote his views. As it was, under the auspices of that king, Sebastian Cabot, the son of a Venetian, who had settled in Bristol,

Increasing popu-
larity of maritime
adventures.

discovered the continent of America—the

name Americus is that of a Norman family

in the twelfth century, though subsequently appearing in Italy. Cabot, perhaps accompanied by his father, explored the coast from the point they first made—Prima Vista—or, as it is now called, Newfoundland, as far as Florida. Subsequently he made a voyage to Russia, doing much to extend northeastern commerce. It was his attempt, under the auspices of Henry, to find a northwest passage to India that led him to the first of these discoveries. The expectation of Columbus, founded upon the opinion of Toscanelli, that the distance from Lisbon westward to India would prove to be shorter than the distance from Lisbon to Guinea, not having been verified, these attempts to make the voyage in a higher latitude were very much favored by persons who clearly un-

derstood the globular form of the earth. Meantime the connections of trade were rapidly multiplying, as is illustrated by the fact that Parliament had enacted a capitation-tax of twenty or forty shillings on every Italian broker or factor settled in England. These adventurers were following commerce to its new abode.

For many previous years the enterprise of the nation had found gratification in invasions of France. The proclamation of one of these destructive raids had been a certain source of popularity. When money could not be extorted for any other object, it had been freely given for that. But now things had changed. The useless nature of these military undertakings was universally recognized. Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt, had lost their charm. A restless adventurer could see more profit in a voyage beyond seas than in bloody battles in France.

He discovered that it was better for him to become rich by his own personal enterprise, and himself enjoy the fruits of his own exertions, than to shed his blood and waste his life in giving glory to his commander or his sovereign. It was impossible but that loyalty should decline, and self-interest take its place. And Henry VII. was not unwilling to wean his people from their love of war, and turn them to commercial pursuits. That he might publicly show his honor for trade, he became a member of the Merchant Tailors' Company.

Influence of Henry VII. in promoting individualism.

He lent money without interest or gain, that "merchandise, which is of all crafts the chief art, might be more plentifully used, haunted, and employed in his realm." More laws respecting trade were made in his reign than on any other subject; and though many of them were founded on principles repudiated by modern legislation, their intention and spirit are worthy of remark. They were preliminary experiments in polit-

ical economy. Thus he largely and energetically protected domestic manufactures, nurtured his own mercantile

Trade and manufacturing legislation of that king.

marine, enforced the principle that no foreign goods should be brought to the country except in English ships, patronized the fisheries, discountenanced usury, provided against the cheating of creditors, regulated the introduction of silk, prohibited the carrying of bullion out of the realm, constructed standard measures and weights, and had authenticated copies sent to the large towns, stamped a new coinage, disallowed ordinances, such as that of the corporation of London, which forbade its freemen to travel with goods for sale, in order that people might be compelled to come to the city to buy. He put a stop to transit tolls extorted by towns through which goods were obliged to pass. His attention was specially directed to the manufacture of wool, at that time the most important industrial pursuit of the country. Woolen goods constituted $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of the entire English exports. He attempted to confine the manufacture to English workmen: no foreigner was permitted to carry the raw material out of the country. This manufacture owed its prosperity to his great predecessor, Edward III., who brought over from Flanders artisans, such as weavers, fullers, etc. It had already attained so much prosperity as to afford a source of public revenue by taxation.

The imperfection of Henry's legislation may be excused when we compare it with that of preceding kings. With a view of controlling the bullion in the realm, enactments had been passed compelling foreigners to pay for English goods in money. Englishmen were prohibited selling merchandise to such, except for ready money or goods delivered on the instant. As the mischievous operation of such a law was recognized, some relaxation was afforded, and goods were permitted to be sold on six months' cred-

it. Laws were passed prohibiting foreign merchants from selling in England to any other foreigner. The mercantile ideas of Henry VII. are certainly better than these.

But besides leading the way, though with many mistakes, in the industrial development of his country, Henry VII. gave his people moral lessons of the deepest import. He taught them the sacredness of human life. Executions and savage mutilations, such as had been frequent in former bloodthirsty times, were replaced by impositions of fines. He vindicated the supremacy of law, making the poor secure from molestation by the rich. He also concerned himself with sanitary provisions in a manner that may even now be an example in many American cities. In order that his people might have pure air, "he forbade butchers to kill animals in walled towns." "What this king desired was the prosperity and restfulness of his land."

While this development of industrial pursuits was gradually going on, an important result, the value of which can not be exaggerated, was occurring. The price of labor was rising. There were competitions between agriculturists and manufacturers. This is manifested by the act forbidding any one binding his son or daughter to an apprenticeship unless he was possessed of twenty shillings. The aim was to secure the laboring class for the agricultural interest. There was a demand for more men—a demand to which England in the old ecclesiastical times had been a stranger; and now the population accordingly began to increase.

If, after 350 years, Henry VII. could come forth from the tomb in his beautiful chapel in Westminster Abbey, and revisit the nation whose "restfulness" he so sedulous-

ly desired, how many things that he thought essential and enduring he would miss !

Wonderful social
change since the
epoch of Henry
VII. In the streets of his capital, now containing more people than in the old days he could have counted in his whole realm, not a cowed monk, not a friar, white, black, or gray, is to be seen. In the dissolving view of national life, the dissenting preacher has emerged in their place. In the churches he would hear no invocations to "Mary;" he would find no one at the shrines of the saints. For the long train of pilgrims wending their way to those gainful offices, he would find patients, with their fee in hand, crowding the anterooms of the legitimate physician, or repairing to the snare of the empiric. Quackery, like a king in the East, lives forever. For the saints themselves, if he inquired of any busy passer-by, he might be innocently and courteously advised to look into the City Directory. On conspicuous heights or in shady retreats, where once they had been nestled, he would look for monasteries in vain—there are cotton-mills now in their stead. Baronial families, whose prosperity he wisely sapped, he would learn had long ago become extinct. "His light gray eyes" would fall upon no peasant with his legs wrapped in wisps of straw, no citizen clad in leather. With wondering surprise he might contemplate a sovereign nearly without a veto, and a Church without a Pope.

But there are novelties that he would encounter, things the very names of which he had never heard. He would see the descendants of his lieges eating potatoes, drinking tea, sweetening coffee with sugar, getting tipsy on gin or other distilled liquors; he would have to be told what distilling means, and smoking tobacco. Not a wood-fire would he find in any house; the people warm themselves over that dirty black stone which Æneas Sylvius says was dug up about the parts of Northumberland. The

railway companies would run him from London to Edinburgh, "through by daylight," or carry him over wonderful viaducts and bridges made of iron tubes, or through tunnels in the hills. He could float in balloons above the clouds of the air, or sink in bells to the bottom of the sea. "His wonderful beauty and fair complexion; his countenance merry and smiling, especially in his communications; his thin hair; his body lean, but albeit mighty and strong therewith; his personage and stature somewhat higher than the meane sort of men be," could all instantaneously and spontaneously depict themselves for his use upon a photographic visiting-card. If he went to Portsmouth he might see what had been the issue of the "Great Harry" he built, the first vessel of the national navy. In all directions he would find steam-ships and steam-boats moving about without waiting for wind or tide. He could telegraph instantaneously his messages to his "dread brother" of France, and see the end of a cable going under the Atlantic to that Newfoundland which he paid Sebastian Cabot to discover. The laws he so carefully devised to protect his spinners and weavers are displaced by free trade—those artisans themselves supplanted by cunningly-contrived iron machines. The realm that he left, as Grafton relates, abundantly stored with gold and silver bullion and plate, he would find four thousand millions of dollars in debt, and yet more prosperous than even in his days.

He would find individualism and self-interest every where paramount, and money the object of life. He must pay sixpence for admission to the bronze doors of his own chapel on his way back again to his tomb.

It is due to the influence of individualism.

The active period of English history—its Age of Reason—thus commenced under the Tudor dynasty. A

change in national character occurred. Incentives, appealing to morals alone, lost their force; intellectual education began, and to every man, no matter what his station might be, the road to fortune was open. Individualism was fairly established.

As might be expected, considering their insular position and ready adaptation to a seafaring life, the English joined with avidity in those maritime enterprises in which all Western Europe had engaged. Spain and Portugal, by their brilliant successes, had set an intoxicating example. Riches transcending all that had been dreamed of by fanatical alchemists had been acquired in Mexico and Peru; the wealth of India was within the reach of those adventurous enough to follow De Gama's track round the Cape of Good Hope. To no insignificant extent was this maritime spirit fostered by what was, indeed, its legitimate result, the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Military excursions to France were exchanged for more lucrative adventures on a new and wider theatre at sea—adventures sometimes of an honorable, sometimes of a questionable kind. Not unfrequently discovery was united to buccaneering.

India was the great temptation, the alluring bait. Thus Willoughby and Chancellor tried to force their way to that country by a north-east passage. The former was found by subsequent explorers a stark corpse in the cabin of his ship. He had attempted to winter in the ice. The company of merchant-adventurers reached Nova Zembla, and also endeavored to re-open the old route by Astracan and the Caspian Sea. Fro-bisher vainly tried a northwest passage. Drake added much to the popularity of these undertakings by repeating the circumnavigation of the earth.

The English pursue with avidity all kinds of maritime enterprises.

Their voyages to the Polar Seas.

They repeat the circumnavigation of the earth, and colonize North America.

Expeditions of adventure soon, however, gave place to others of a more permanent and valuable kind—expeditions for colonization. Of those to America I have already spoken in preceding chapters. The energy with which these operations were conducted is shown by the circumstance that during the seventeenth century all the thirteen original American states, except Georgia, were colonized. In 1689 their aggregate population was probably 200,000.

There is perhaps no better or more interesting proof how deeply a love of individual adventure had laid hold of the English mind than the popularity of De Foe's romance, "Robinson Crusoe," published early in the eighteenth century. The editions of it are without number. It would be difficult to find any one in England or America who does not know all about the shipwreck, the desolate island, the man Friday, the goats, the footprint in the sand. The resolute individualism, conspicuously shining forth in the hero of the story, commended it at once to the popular heart.

Scarcely, therefore, had the active life of England commenced, when through colonization a tendency was manifested for the separation of her population into two branches. Notwithstanding the great waste of life always attending a settlement of new countries, the American branch soon began to exhibit unmistakable proofs of rapid development. It expanded by its own natural growth, for the resistances to life were soon reduced to a minimum: it was, moreover, continually added to by unceasing emigration from home.

That colonization separates the English into two branches.

The seventeenth century is, therefore, full of interest to the readers of this book, since it is the epoch of division of the English-speaking race into two portions, destined by geographical cir-

The insular and continental English.

cumstances to be, the one insular, the other continental. Before that time they had a common, after it a separate history. Their existing relation is not that of parent and offspring, but that of collateral branches from a common stock.

In their later history climate-disturbance has been more powerfully felt by the continental than by the insular portion. In England, indeed, until comparatively recent times, interior locomotion was so much restricted that the zones of population may be said to have come into a closer correspondence with the physical circumstances under which the people were living, the main disturbance arising from artificial climate-variations. In America the population has been far more energetically disturbed. It encountered in its new seats a climate differing not only from that of its original country, but also differing greatly in different localities. The most northerly and southerly portions of Great Britain differ by less than nine geographical degrees; the Atlantic coast-line of the United States ranges through twenty-two. The physiological change which from this cause must necessarily be accomplished was very great, and, to this day, time enough for its completion has not elapsed.

The insular portion of the English-speaking race may therefore be contemplated as having attained to comparative physiological stability, though in this respect as being still behind the population of France (page 98). Its modes of thinking have almost come into unison with its climate. Hence it has definite views and settled intentions. It holds its ideas in government, philosophy, religion, or whatever else, without any misgivings, necessarily regarding them as intrinsically correct: the foreigner, in his discrepancies, is of course necessarily and intrinsically wrong. The loco-

Subsequent effect
of climate-influ-
ence on each.

Character of the in-
sular portion.

motive engine will hardly shake this invariability and obstinacy, since it can not do more than mix together men who have suffered but little modification from their mean, their common type. The annual isothermals under which they live vary but a few Fahrenheit degrees. There are no imposing differences of topographical elevation, no grand mountain ranges. The homogeneousness into which that people has thus been brought imparts to it many characteristic qualities. It is self-poised, self-confident, self-sufficient, self-willed.

Diverging thus from one historical point, the insular and continental branches will perpetually exhibit traces of their common origin. In spite of whatever vicissitudes they may have respectively encountered, and modifications they may have respectively undergone, there will be marks of family likeness; their relationship will always be indicated by their common speech; and hence I repeat the remark previously made, that a philosophical study of the course of either will cast light on that of the other. American history can not be understood—no true interpretation of the events of American life can be given except by a profound study of English history and English life.

We may therefore recall with delight the wonderful
Its contributions to civilization. contributions the English have made to human knowledge and human comfort. In whatever direction we look, we see how much they have done—how many of the great inventions that have extended the boundaries of science are theirs. They gave us both telescopes, the reflecting and achromatic; they gave us the steam-engine, and its noble application, the locomotive. They have done more than all others in the manufacture of iron, more in the perfection of textile fabrics. The greatest of European medical discoveries, vaccination, is theirs—anæsthesia belongs to America. In

the highest region to which human intellect has attained they stand eminent—they first explained the true mechanism of the universe. In the congregation of nations they have grandly discharged their duty—they have signally contributed to the civilization of man.

Yet, as if it were a solemn admonition to us, was there
Its political mis-
takes. ever such a spectacle offered of wisdom in interior life and folly in external conduct? In the last hundred years this people has occupied itself with three great foreign transactions, not perceiving, until its movements were over, how serious were its mistakes. It undertook a war against colonial independence, persisted in it for many years, and incurred in so doing a debt of five hundred millions of dollars—no one in England now defends that folly. Its acquisition of an Indian empire was commenced under circumstances that impartial history can never justify, and is perpetuated by actions that humanity can never defend. Its wars of the French Revolution and Empire oppress its resources and industry with a burden of three thousand millions of dollars, and yet they brought no better fruit than a pilgrimage of its sovereign to the tomb of Napoleon, and an alliance with his representative. Not without mournful interest does the American see the same infatuation surviving uncorrected in more recent events—the country of Wilberforce forgetting its noblest traditions, and willfully alienating the friendship of a great and powerful kindred people.

Comparing the social progress of the Middle Ages with that of the nineteenth century, we can not fail to see that the prime mover has changed. Ecclesiasticism and loyalty carried our ancestors forward as far as they could, but the motion was very slow, the advance comparatively insignificant. It is only yesterday that physical science has been accepted as a guide, but we witness what it

has already done. Ecclesiasticism tended to the controlling and governing of men, science sets them free. It favors the principle of individualism, inciting every one to seek his own advancement, and be the architect of his own fortune. In England, as indeed in all Europe, as soon as the artificial restraints of the old system were cast aside, and each person became an unshackled thinker and worker, the aggregate result, the national progress, was truly wonderful. Not less wonderful has

Effect of individualism on the continental portion.

been the result on the American continent. Individualism, emerging, as we have related, gradually in the Middle Ages, receiving an impetus from the acts of Columbus and his successors, asserting its rights in the Reformation and in the English revolutions, allying itself to maritime enterprise, commercial undertakings, industrial art, has made the free states of the Union what they are.

Individualism is unrestricted in the free states of America.

In the actual republics of Greece as in the fancied republic of Plato, man was considered only as an element of the state. The state was every thing, man nothing. The Roman system was greatly superior to that. Rome commenced her career by annexing cities, and reached her plenitude of power by the incorporation of provinces and kingdoms. But she left them, as far as might be, their religion, their local laws, their customs, interfering in no respect with their daily life save in those points which were incompatible with her imperial policy. It was this that gave to her her commanding position and constituted her true strength.

Effect of state-individualism in the Roman system.

Rome regarded the province or kingdom she incorporated; America, extending that policy, regards the individual man. He is not an invisible element, but a recognized constituent of the state.

The political results secured by Rome from the principle she thus adopted were very splendid; the material prosperity attained in the New World by the extension

Effect of personal individualism on the American system.

of that principle, by giving citizenship to every one, is already surprising. Individualism has rapidly secured this continent to the service of civilized man; it will enable the republic of the West to play that part on the grander theatre of the globe which the old republic played in the narrow confines of the Mediterranean.

Abolition of all restraint on personal pursuits.

So far as personal freedom of action is concerned, the abandonment of apprenticeship and of the institution of guilds has had a most powerful effect. What would have been the progress of America had there been such a statute as that of Elizabeth, known as the statute of apprenticeship, in force? It prohibited any one from exercising any trade, craft, or mystery without a six years' apprenticeship. Even in England it was found necessary by degrees to interpret it liberally, and hence its operation was restricted to market towns, and to those trades or avocations that were in existence at the time of the passage of the act. A total absence of all such restrictions, persons being at liberty to practice any business they please without a previous waste of several years, and without membership in any guild or fraternity, adds in a most extraordinary manner to the industrial activity of the country. The community reaps the benefit of the competition that necessarily ensues.

Expansive political power of individualism.

Unquestionably the absolute freedom of action conceded to the individual is not without grave disadvantages. It may be doubted whether a community organized on such a basis, more particularly in case this freedom is granted to women, can ever have the stability, or ever be as moral as one in which the family is the essential political element. But that such a community will have a prodigious expansive power is undeniable.

I.—Q

SECTION III.

TENDENCY TO ANTAGONISM IMPRESSED ON THE AMERICAN POPULATION BY CLIMATE AND OTHER CAUSES. DEVELOPMENT OF UNIONISM AND GROWTH OF SLAVERY.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROGRESS OF THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICA DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The tendency to sectional division of the North and South was manifested by their intellectual pursuits during the last century. Both felt the necessity of promoting literary culture, but in the former it advanced in the Theological and Metaphysical directions; in the latter, a preference was given to Medicine and Law. Political effects of the cultivation of Theology in the North and of Law in the South.

WE have next to investigate the tendency imparted to the American people by climate and the other physical conditions to which they were exposed. These soon generated social and political conditions, and occasioned an ever-increasing separation.

The climate of the South, through the agricultural products it permitted, favored plantation life and the institution of slavery, and hence it promoted a sentiment of independence in the person and of state-rights in the community; that of the North intensified in the person a disposition to individualism, and in the community to unionism.

Tendency to sectional partition in America during the eighteenth century.

The initial differences existing between the original colonists were by these circumstances increased, the segmentation being incessantly more and more marked, geographical parties, a North

Condition of the colonial population.

and a South, coming plainly into view, each having its own ideas, its own wishes, its own intentions, and those of the one very often antagonistic to those of the other.

I shall therefore devote this section to a history of the early progress of that antagonism as manifested by unionism and by slavery, and, as a needful preparation, shall relate in this chapter the process of the intellectual development of the people previously to the commencement of this century.

At the beginning of the last century the population was a mere fringe on the Atlantic coast, its interior expansion being hardly more than fifty or a hundred miles. A waste of waters was on its front, an unknown wilderness of land behind. The means of intercommunication were tardy, the roads execrable. In 1700 there was not a single newspaper printed on the continent; in 1800 there were nearly 200. The Boston News-letter, the pioneer, was issued in 1704. At first these journals confined themselves to the reporting of facts; it was not until the time of Franklin that they began to attempt to manufacture public opinion; that function, particularly in the Eastern States, had been hitherto discharged by the pulpit. For this reason, the minister looked upon the editor not without suspicion, or even dislike. It was through jealousies of this kind that the Boston paper with which Franklin was connected was suppressed. In classical antiquity the manufacture of public opinion was accomplished with difficulty; in imperial Rome it was imperfectly done through the agency of the legions. Pontifical Rome succeeded much better through her ecclesiastical organizations, especially through the mendicant orders. In modern times it is mainly conducted by the newspaper and the mail. After the Revolutionary War, the frequency of elections and place-hunting debauched the American press.

Publication of
newspapers and
manufacture of
opinion.

The practice of selling the privilege of a portion of the paper to individuals for their personal use in advertising was quickly adopted in America. It was a great advance on the bellman and public crier.

In 1700 there were but two public libraries; one was in Massachusetts, the other in South Carolina. At the end of the century there were many hundreds. Booksellers had increased a hundred fold, and printers in about the same proportion. At the first of those periods there were but three or four in the whole country. The two early colonial colleges—Harvard in Massachusetts, and William and Mary in Virginia, had at length almost thirty competitors.

In Chapter VIII. I have pointed out the original differences of the Northern and Southern colonists, observing that the former were incited by religious ideas, the latter by material interests. These distinctions are perpetuated in their respective intellectual histories. The North led the way in literary pursuits, founding the first college and establishing the first press; and, as might be expected, its inclination at that time was chiefly to theology and classical learning. Very early in the history of Massachusetts the colonists had taken measures for public education. In 1641 they had enacted

that, “if any do not teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them to read perfectly the English language, they shall forfeit twenty shillings; and the selectmen of every town are required to know the state of the families.” Soon afterward they enacted that, “when any town increased to the number of one hundred families, they should set up a grammar-school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University.” As the course of political events in England, in the restoration of a national

Public libraries in
the North and
South.

Increase of the col-
leges.

Compulsory educa-
tion in Massachu-
setts.

Church, had been in opposition to the Puritan ideas of the North, the hopes of the settlers were turned to an independent literature of their own; hence their activity in establishing schools, academies, colleges, and their strenuous patronage of home education.

But Virginia, less intensely religious, and caring more for material prosperity, followed a different policy. She had no college until the eighteenth century was well advanced; for, though an Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. James Blair, had obtained a charter for one in 1693 from William and Mary, it was not until 1729 that he could carry it into operation. For long it led a lingering existence, rarely having more than twenty students at a time. The desire of the North was the prosperity of its churches; thus Yale College, which was established in 1701, was for the avowed purpose of supplying learned and able ministers. Virginia, on the contrary, was indifferent to ecclesiastical prosperity. She was not animated by the wishes of the North; her society was far from having the democratical aspect of that of Massachusetts. She had a law of primogeniture, and therefore rich planters and poor laborers—a divided community that was unable to unite in undertakings conducive to the general good. Her export business in tobacco brought her into contact with foreign connections; she saw no evil, nor, indeed, any inconvenience in intrusting her young men to that foreign influence from which Calvinistic Massachusetts would have recoiled with horror. Virginia was Episcopalian, and as she received her clergy from England, to England she was willing to intrust the education of her youth. While the New Englander was taught at home, the Virginian went to Europe. For this reason, the educated men of the North had more nerve, those of the South more polish.

Difference in the literary intentions of the North and South.

Influence of Episcopacy on Virginia.

President John Quincy Adams, in his *Life of Mr. Madison*, makes these remarks: "The colony of Virginia had been settled under the auspices of the Episcopal Church of England. It was there the Established Church, and all other religious denominations there, as in England, were stigmatized with the name of Dissenters. For the support of this Church, the colonial laws, prior to the Revolution, had subjected to taxation all the inhabitants of the colony, and it had been endowed with grants of property by the crown. The effect of this had naturally been to render the Church establishment unpopular, and the clergy of that establishment generally unfriendly to the Revolution. After the close of the war in 1784, Mr. Jefferson introduced into the Legislature a bill for the establishment of religious freedom. The principle of the bill was the abolition of all taxation for the support of religion or of its ministers, and to place the freedom of all religious opinions wholly beyond the control of the Legislature." After some delay and resistance the bill was passed. In Massachusetts, authoritative provision by law for the support of teachers of the Christian religion was prescribed by the Bill of Rights; but an amendment subsequently adopted has sanctioned the opinions of Jefferson, and the substance of the Virginia statute for the establishment of religious freedom now forms a part of the Constitution of Massachusetts. Mr. Adams farther remarks: "That the freedom and communication of thought is paramount to all legislative authority is a sentiment becoming from day to day more prevalent throughout the civilized world, and which, it is fervently to be hoped, will hereafter remain inviolate by the legislative authorities not only of the Union, but of all its confederated states."

As might be expected, considering the motives that had led to their original settlement—religious ideas in the

Theology the favorite pursuit of the North, Medicine and Law of the South.

North, and material advantages in the South —while theology was the favorite pursuit of educated men in the former, medicine and law were preferred in the latter. It was this that gave to Virginia so great a control during the revolutionary times: her representatives were men of the world—men of affairs. Their ideas were not cramped as were those of the New Englander. It was this that aided her in giving so many of its early presidents to the Union. A preference for the study of medicine and law continues in the South to our day.

Various scientific and other works written in the South.

In South Carolina, the prominent clergymen, physicians, and lawyers were often of foreign birth. They chiefly settled in Charleston. As in Virginia, the young men, for the most part, went to Europe for their education. William Bull, a native South Carolinian, it is said, was the first American who obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine; he was a pupil of Boerhaave, and graduated in the University of Leyden in 1734, his inaugural thesis being “*de Colica Pictonum*.” Lining (1753) gave the first American description of yellow fever, and carried an electrical apparatus to Charleston; Chalmers wrote on the weather and the diseases of South Carolina. Catesby published the *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahamas*: he was occupied from 1712 to 1748 in the preparation of his work. In Virginia, Tennant (1740) introduced snake-root (*Polygala senega*) into the *materia medica*. Clayton, a native of that colony, published his *Flora Virginica*; and Mitchell, who resided on the Rappahannock, wrote so well on the effects of climate upon the human complexion that his essay was published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*; he was the author, also, of papers on the preparation and uses of potash and its compounds, and on the force of electrical cohesion. Histo-

ries of Virginia were published by Stith and by Beverley. A printer settled in it in 1726, the first work he published being a volume of the laws (1733). In 1725 South Carolina received her first printer, and published her first newspaper in 1730. It is to her honor that she appreciated very early the value of learning. In the free-school established in Charleston, 1712, the principal received a salary of £400 sterling per annum; the usher, £200. These salaries, liberal for those times, were paid from the public treasury.

Appreciation of literature in Charleston.

The middle colonies, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, intervening geographically between the idealistic colonies of the North and the materialistic colonies of the South, participated in the mode of intellectual progress of both. The germ of Columbia College, first known as King's College, was planted in New York in 1754; that of the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, in 1755; but Princeton preceded them, it having been instituted at Elizabethtown in 1746. Jonathan Edwards may be taken as a type of the theological and metaphysical writers between 1720 and 1748. The cultivators of natural science, however, rapidly multiplied; among them may be mentioned Cadwallader Colden, a native of Scotland, but subsequently Lieutenant Governor of New York; he wrote on Botany, and composed a History of the Five Indian Nations. Bartram, of Pennsylvania, of whom Linnæus said that he was the greatest natural botanist in the world, traveled from Canada to Florida in the prosecution of his studies.

Intellectual condition of the middle colonies.

The establishment of a medical college in Philadelphia (1764), which subsequently was known as the University of Pennsylvania, was an important event in the history of American science. Dr.

The University of Pennsylvania.

Shippen gave the lectures on Anatomy; Dr. Morgan on the Institutes of Medicine; Dr. Kuhn on Botany and *Materia Medica*; Dr. Benjamin Rush on Chemistry. These were the first medical lectures ever given in America. The institution thus commenced continues to occupy an increasing sphere of usefulness and honor to this day.

During the first third of the eighteenth century the course of science in Europe was chiefly directed to astronomical, optical, mechanical, and mathematical pursuits; the great influ-

The scientific pursuits of Europe are followed in America.

ence and brilliant successes of Newton gave that bias. In like manner, the example of Linnæus led to the cultivation of Natural History in the middle third, while the last third was devoted to Chemistry and industrial inventions. These variations in the European tone of thought are perceptible also in America. There was, too, an increasing appreciation of the singular value of physical pursuits, and improvements were continually occurring in the domestic habits of the people. The fashions and customs of Europe became the fashions and customs of America. At the beginning of that cen-

Changes in domestic economy.

tury the potato was known only as a curiosity; at the end, it had become an important article of food. Tea and coffee had been introduced from Asia. Sugar had come into universal use; previously to that time honey had been resorted to in its stead, and hence the value of the honey-producing countries. Sir John Pringle states that between 1688 and 1750 the amount of garden vegetables consumed in and near London had increased six fold. These dietary changes were adopted in America with no little advantage to the public health, and consequent increase of population. Of not less importance was the diminished cost of clothing. Personal cleanliness became an imperative social requirement. Strong perfumes, which even the higher classes

had been in the habit of employing to conceal personal offensiveness, became of less service; no one thought of wearing garments until they dropped to pieces of themselves. Individual and domestic purity, thus greatly promoted by the using of frequently-changed and cheap cottons, was again singularly aided, at a subsequent period, by the introduction of baths into private houses. The consequence was, that contagious diseases diminished in destructiveness, and the death-rate declined. Among minor but still important improvements, tending to comfort and health, may be mentioned, as belonging to the last century, the cultivation in gardens of the fine varieties of fruits.

Social improvement—clothing, baths, etc.

In America, political independence, secured by the Revolution, was soon followed by a desire not so easily gratified—for intellectual independence. The success of the American Philosophical Society, which had been established by Franklin in Philadelphia, gave rise to the institution of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Massachusetts in 1780. Between 1783 and 1801 not less than seventeen new colleges were founded. Schools of a lower grade, academies and libraries, were multiplied in all directions. Among the more prominent men there were several whose writings gained the reluctant admiration of English critics. The Declaration of Independence, viewed simply as a literary composition, was admitted not to yield the palm of merit to any contemporaneous political paper. The controversy respecting the appointment of Episcopal bishops in the colonies was supposed to have aided much in improving literary taste; that controversy continued from the middle of the century to the Revolution.

America attempts intellectual independence,

And founds philosophical societies.

Influence of the Episcopal controversy in literature.

The narrow fringe of Atlantic population spread by de-

grees over the Alleghanies toward the Mississippi River. It was occupied in self-organization, and in making preparation for its future political development. In this attempt it had to accomplish its object under circumstances of great difficulty; it had no national religion, no guide in an established church. The state of society and the events of the Revolution had made that an impossibility. There can be no doubt that this was the cause of deep anxiety among the great men of the time. Doubtless it was reflections connected with this that abated the sym-

Difficulties arising
from the absence of
a national church.

pathy of Washington with the French, and led him toward the close of his days to look wistfully at the contemporaneous condition in England. Constituted as American society then was, the voyage of national life was about to be taken without the accustomed compass on board. No one could tell how a purely voluntary Church would succeed. In all its previous existence, the English race had never been without an authoritative religious guide; however, it was now only carrying the principles of the Reformation one step forward to their logical issue. As long as the political heavens were clear, things might go well; the light of human reason, like the light of the pole star, might be a sufficient substitute; but who could foresee the result when that light was shut out in the tempests of political passion that must sooner or later arise.

Effect of the culti-
vation of Theology
in the North,

In the North, at the close of the period we have been considering—the eighteenth century—the theological disposition which had been manifested in the colonial times was still predominant. In every community the minister of the Gospel was the conspicuous man. He gave a tone to thought, and was the pivot on which almost every social enterprise turned. Even in later times, though his influence in the great cities has declined, partly through the more

general diffusion of knowledge, and partly through the widespread adoption of French ideas by the richer classes, and their luxurious life, he still retains no insignificant power.

In the South it was different. Parliamentary eloquence was prized more than pulpit oratory. Law was a favorite profession, not so much from considerations connected with local influence as from its leading to distinction in the national councils. Perhaps it was owing to this that in Washington the senators and representatives of the North did not compare favorably with those of the South. The North consecrated her best intellect to the Church, the South sent hers to the Capitol. Perhaps, also, it was in no small degree owing to this that the government was for so many years under the control of the able upholders of slavery.

And of Law in the
South.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE DISCONNECTED COLONIES INTO A NATION. DEVELOPMENT OF UNIONISM. ADOPTION OF THE CONFEDERATION.

There is a geographical tendency to Union in the North, and against it in the South. The New England idea of Unionism, after several abortive attempts, was embodied in the Confederation, which was forced upon the reluctant American people by unavoidable circumstances. It was especially resisted by the smaller states, but was at length adopted. This constitutes the first step in the progress of American centralization.

THE linear arrangement of the colonies along the Atlantic coast was adverse to consolidation. They had no political connection with each other, though their inhabitants had the right of passing from one to another at their pleasure, and dwelling where they chose. This privilege was more and more generally exercised as theological differences and the theological epoch came to an end.

The tendency to centralization was much less favored by natural circumstances in the South than it was in the North. The original Southern settlers found their territory broken up into a multitude of separate peninsulas by many subordinate rivers, having a general course from the west to the east. There were the York, the James, the Roanoke, the Neuse, the Cape Fear, the Pedee, the Santee, the Savannah, the Altamaha. Each little section, having its own means of connection with the sea, had no occasion to pass through the territory, or to be dependent on the will of its neighbor. The original spirit of independence brought by these settlers from England was therefore strengthened by the structure of the country they occupied. No great metropolis could spring up, for there

Geographical tendency against centralization in the South.

was no extensive outlying dependent territory. A multitude of little marts and towns was the necessary consequence.

Very different would it have been if the Southern section of the Atlantic border, instead of settling in the sea, as has been described in Chapter II., had received a flexure of elevation along the coast, so that each of these subordinate streams had discharged its waters into a common trunk, flowing in the bottom of the valley north and south. Such a river system would have formed a political bond. At the outlet there would have been built the common metropolis of the whole country.

The value of such a central stream is seen, in a general manner, in the case of the St. Lawrence. The fate of Canada turns on the possession of Quebec. The same principle is exemplified in the Mississippi. Whoever is strong enough to hold the mouth of that river will control the interior of the whole continent.

Through the progress of physical science and mechanical invention the application of these principles has somewhat altered, though the principles themselves remain unchanged. Lines of railroad operate now in the same manner that rivers did a century ago. Rivers themselves are being conquered by engineering skill. The day will come, perhaps it is not very far distant, when the whole river system of the republic will be under human control, and gigantic streams, such as the Mississippi and Missouri, be made to flow with a uniform current throughout the year. Commerce will not long endure their present variations.

In the North the tendency to centralization was more favored by topographical conditions. The existence of a great harbor at the mouth of the Hudson, with immediate access to the

Influence of rivers
on centralization.

The rivers of the
North more favor-
able to centraliza-
tion.

sea, gave to that river a superiority over the Delaware. This natural advantage was strengthened artificially when the canal system of New York was carried into effect. The metropolis of that state then became a chief commercial and financial centre.

In the South the sentiment of separate independence was thus continually strengthened; there was no unity of interest directed to one local industrial point, and, as far as natural circumstances were concerned, no common bond.

In this respect the two regions manifested a difference; the one tended to diversity, the other to unity.

But, as if to neutralize this consequence of their topographical condition, precisely the reverse ensued from their political, their social state.

Effect of negro
slavery in the
South.

After the invention of Whitney's gin, the bond of negro slavery united the South. Uniformity of interests and of pursuits, arising from the cultivation of tobacco and cotton, imparted homogeneousness to it.

The North was thus bound together naturally and territorially, the South artificially and politically. Comparing them together, the advantage lay with the former, because the principle of its union was indestructible; on the contrary, with the latter, there was always a liability that its principle of union might prove to be ephemeral. Anticipations of that kind have been completely verified by the events of the civil war. It was not, however, until a more advanced period of their history that the Southern people came under the influence of the bond to which reference is here made. Not until a great development in the cultivation of cotton had occurred was the political power of negro slavery completely felt. On negro slavery the South could be, and was united as one man.

If such, on a comparatively insignificant scale, has been the state of things among the dwellers of the Atlantic

border, what shall we say as regards their great offshoot, the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley? In that unparalleled region a river navigation equal in length to that of the whole coast-line of the Atlantic Ocean—a navigation with but one natural outlet—binds in a supreme and inexorable necessity, the force of which is momentarily increasing, millions of men. There lies the strength of the American Union. The man of the North will tolerate no obstruction of that stream. If the lesson he has of late so impressively taught does not perpetually suffice, he will again hew his way to the Gulf of Mexico with his sword. He must and will have a free path to the sea; he must and will have a united people on those banks.

The early colonists developed their infant institutions with practically but little external control. The Atlantic Ocean served as a barrier to protect them from molestation. Perpetual wars and commotions in Western Europe drew attention from them. In favorable obscurity and oblivion the Cavalier and the Puritan devised their political forms. The coming of a new governor, the tampering with a charter, the arbitrary mandates of a king, had in reality little to do with the course that events were taking. On a free stage of action there was the largest personal liberty.

It has already been mentioned, page 154, that a union was established among the New England colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, in 1643. It was first proposed immediately after the Pequod War, but colonial jealousy, the forerunner of state-rights, already exerted an influence. Connecticut, afraid of the preponderance of Massachusetts, wished to reserve to each colony a neg-

Necessity of union
to the Mississippi
Valley.

Early attempts of
the colonies to in-
sure union.

The United Colo-
nies of New En-
gland.

ative on the proceedings of the Confederation. Eventually it was agreed that each should retain its local jurisdiction, and be represented by two commissioners. Church membership was the only qualification; thus the people beyond the Piscataqua were not admitted, "because they ran a different course in their ministry." The immediate object of this union was protection against the French and the Dutch. To it, therefore, were committed the affairs of peace and war, and also internal improvements. It had no executive head or president. Massachusetts had no more votes than New Haven; and expenses were assessed according to population.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century, a very general denial that the crown had a right of taxation drew the feeble colonies together, and a sentiment that it was desirable to have some kind of union for mutual protection and common defense disseminated itself by degrees. It became an imperative necessity in 1765, when the Stamp Act was passed. In July, 1773, Dr. Franklin, then residing in England as the political agent of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Georgia, recommended in an official letter a general assembly or a Congress of all the colonies. The first step taken with that intention was by the House of Burgesses of Virginia, which, having been dissolved by the royal governor, met at Williamsburg, and there recommended the holding of a general Continental Congress. The same view was sustained by Mas-

The first and the second Congress. sachusetts, the result being the assembly of the first Continental Congress at Philadelphia, 1774; Peyton Randolph, a Virginian, was its president. The second Continental Congress (Philadelphia, May, 1775) was held by recommendation of the first.

In this Congress each colony had one vote. The attitude of a revolutionary government was assumed. An army and navy were created, and Washington was ap-

pointed commander-in-chief. On motion of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts, the colonies were declared independent July 4th, 1776.

In 1775, Franklin had submitted to the consideration of Congress Articles of Confederation and Union among the colonies. At first his views were not received with favor. Thus the Convention of North Carolina declared "that a confederation of the colonies was not at present eligible; that the present association ought to be farther relied on for bringing about a reconciliation with the parent country, and a farther confederacy ought only to be adopted in case of the last extremity."

But even Dr. Franklin avoided the idea of a too perfect centralization. His proposal was to the effect that the colonies should enter "into a firm league of friendship with one another, binding on themselves and their posterity, for common defense against their enemies, for the security of their liberties and properties, the safety of their persons and families, and their mutual and general welfare."

"Each colony was to retain its own laws, customs, rights, privileges, and peculiar jurisdiction, delegates to be chosen from each colony annually to meet in a Congress, their sessions to be held in each colony by rotation. Congress to have the power of determining on war and peace, sending and receiving ambassadors, and entering into alliances, settling disputes between colony and colony about limits or any other cause, and the planting of new colonies when proper. To have the power to make such general ordinances as, though necessary to the general welfare, particular assemblies can not be competent to use: those that may relate to general commerce or general currency, the establishment of posts, and the regula-

tion of the common forces, and the appointment of general officers, civil and military, appertaining to the general confederacy."

Limited power to be conceded to the executive.
 An executive council was to be appointed by Congress out of their own body, to "consist of twelve persons, of whom, on the first appointment, one third, viz., four, shall be for one year, four for two years, and four for three years; and as the said terms expire, the vacancies shall be filled by appointments for three years, whereby one third of the number will be changed annually."

"This council (two thirds to be a quorum in the recess of Congress) are to execute what shall have been enjoined by that body; to manage the general continental business and interests; to receive applications from foreign countries; to prepare matters for the consideration of Congress; to fill up pro tempore continental offices that fall vacant; and to draw on the general treasury for such moneys as may be necessary for general services, and appropriated by Congress for such services."

Such are the chief features of Dr. Franklin's plan. It shows how clearly he recognized the principles that safety lay in union, and power in consolidation. It shows, too, that, though he foresaw an impending centralization, he accepted it with reluctance. An executive council of twelve was all that he would permit. With a jealous eye to public liberty, he fettered Congress with restrictions, and enfeebled his executive council with numbers and changes. His plan, therefore, was an illustration of the statement that "the making of Constitutions consists in inventing antagonisms, and rendering them precarious by elections for terms."

As soon as the step of declaring the independence of the colonies was taken, it became obvious that this or some other plan of confederation must be resorted to.

The Articles of Confederation eventually adopted in 1777.

Such a plan was therefore reported to Congress in July, 1776, and adopted by that body for recommendation to the states, November, 1777.

Difficulty of insuring their favorable consideration.

The circular letter from Congress to the states submitting the proposed "Articles" to their consideration, by its air of entreaty, shows with what reluctance the people were submitting to their destiny. Referring to the various interests that had to be composed, Congress earnestly intercedes in behalf of these Articles: "Let them be examined with a liberality becoming brethren and fellow-citizens, surrounded by the same imminent dangers, contending for the same illustrious prize, and deeply interested in being forever bound and connected together by ties the most intimate and indissoluble. In short, this salutary measure can be no longer deferred. It seems essential to our very existence as a free people, and without it we may soon be constrained to bid adieu to independence, to liberty and safety, blessings which, from the justice of our cause, and the favor of our Almighty Creator visibly manifested in our protection, we have reason to expect, if, in an humble dependence on his divine providence, we strenuously exert the means which are placed in our power."

Dread of the smaller states that the more powerful would predominate.

In the discussions ensuing in the various states on the question of adopting these "Articles of Confederation," an instinctive dread that confederation would pass into consolidation is very obvious. The little states were afraid of being swallowed up by the larger. Under this sentiment Maryland objected to the vast territorial possessions of Virginia, and desired to have "commissioners appointed who should be empowered to ascertain and restrict the boundaries of such of the confederated states which claim

to extend to the River Mississippi or to the South Sea." In this she was strenuously joined by Rhode Island, who desired that the domains in question should be taken from the great states, and disposed of or appropriated by Congress for the benefit of the whole confederacy. Delaware accompanied her act of accession to the Confederacy with resolutions to the effect that the great states ought to be curtailed; that she considered herself entitled, in common with the other members of the Union, to the territories of the West, for the reason that they had been or might be gained by the blood and treasure of all, and ought therefore to be a common estate.

Views of Maryland on that point. The instructions given to the delegates from Maryland show clearly the apprehensions of the smaller states: "Although the pressure of immediate calamities, the dread of their continuance, favor the appearances of disunion, and some other peculiar circumstances may have induced some states to accede to the present confederation contrary to their own interests and judgments, it requires no great share of foresight to predict that when those causes cease to operate, the states which have thus acceded to the Confederation will consider it as no longer binding, and will eagerly embrace the first occasion of asserting their just rights, and securing their independence. Is it possible that those states who are ambitiously grasping at territories to which, in our judgment, they have not the least shadow of exclusive right, will use with greater moderation the increase of wealth and power derived from those territories when acquired, than what they have displayed in their endeavors to acquire them? We think not. We are convinced that the same principle which hath prompted them to insist on a claim so extravagant, so repugnant to every principle of justice, so incompatible with the general welfare of all the states, will urge them on, and add oppres-

sion to injustice. : If they should not be incited by a superiority of wealth and strength to oppress by open force their less wealthy and less powerful neighbors, yet depopulation, and consequently the impoverishment of those states, will necessarily follow, which, by an unfair construction of the Confederation, may be stripped of a common interest, and the common benefits derivable from the Western country. Suppose, for instance, Virginia indisputably possessed of the extensive and fertile country to which she has set up a claim, what would be the probable consequences to Maryland of such an undisturbed and undisputed possession? They can not escape the least discerning.”

Her apprehensions
of Virginia.

“Virginia, by selling on the most moderate terms a small portion of the lands in question, would draw into her treasury vast sums of money, and, in proportion to the sums arising from such sales, would be enabled to lessen her taxes. Lands comparatively cheap, and taxes comparatively low, with the lands and taxes of the adjacent state, would quickly drain the state thus disadvantageously circumstanced of its most useful inhabitants; its wealth, and its consequence in the scale of the confederate states, would sink of course. A claim so injurious to more than one half, if not to the whole of the United States, ought to be supported by the clearest evidence of the right. Yet what evidences of that right have been produced, what argument alleged in support either of the evidence or the right? None, that we have heard of, deserving a serious refutation.”

“It has been said that some of the delegates of a neighboring state have declared their opinion of the impracticability of governing the extensive dominion claimed by that state. Hence, also, the necessity was admitted of dividing its territory and erecting a new state under the auspices and direction of the elder, from whom, no doubt,

it would receive its form of government; to whom it would be bound by some alliance or confederacy, and by whose councils it would be influenced. Such a measure, if ever attempted, would certainly be opposed by the other states as inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the proposed Confederation. Should it take place by establishing a sub-confederacy, *imperium in imperio*, the state possessed by this extensive dominion must then either submit to all the inconveniences of an overgrown and unwieldy government, or suffer the authority of Congress to interpose at a future time, and to lop off a part of its territory, to be erected into a new and free state, and admitted into the Confederation on such conditions as shall be settled by nine states. If it is necessary for the happiness and tranquillity of a state thus overgrown that Congress should hereafter interfere and divide its territory, why is the claim to that territory now made, and so pertinaciously insisted on? We can suggest to ourselves but two motives—either the declaration of relinquishing at some future time a proportion of the country now contended for was made to lull suspicion asleep and to cover the designs of a secret ambition, or, if the thought

She claims an equal share in unsettled territory,

was seriously entertained, the lands are now claimed to reap an immediate profit from their sale. We are convinced policy and justice require that a country unsettled at the commencement of this war, claimed by the British crown, and ceded to it by the Treaty of Paris, if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen states, should be considered as a common property, subject to be parceled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments, in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall hereafter direct."

"Thus convinced, we should betray the trust reposed

And instructs her delegates not to agree to the Confederation until satisfied in that respect.

in us by our constituents were we to authorize you to ratify on their behalf the Confederation unless it be farther explained.

We have coolly and dispassionately considered the subject; we have weighed probable inconveniences and hardships against the sacrifice of just and essential rights, and do instruct you not to agree to the Confederation unless an article or articles be added thereto in conformity with our declaration. Should we succeed in obtaining such article or articles, then you are hereby fully empowered to accede to the Confederacy."

To this dread, experienced by the smaller states, of being swallowed up by the larger, was added apprehension arising from the concentration of military power in the general government. It is indicated in the proposal of South

Proposals of South Carolina respecting the military force.

Carolina "that the troops to be raised should be deemed the troops of that state by which they are raised. The Congress, or Grand Council of the states may, when they think proper, make requisition on any state for two thirds of the troops to be raised, which requisition shall be binding upon the said states respectively, and the remaining third shall not be liable to be drawn out of the state in which they are raised without the consent of the executive authority of the same. When any forces are raised, they shall be under the command of the executive authority of the states in which they are so raised, unless they be joined by troops from any other state, in which case the Congress or Grand Council of the states may appoint a general officer to the command of the whole, and, until the same can be done, the command shall be in the senior officer present, who shall be amenable for his conduct to the executive authority of the state in which the troops are, and shall be liable to be suspended thereby."

Under the pressure of the war, concessions and compro-

Cession of the Western Territory. mises were made. New York set the example of ceding her Western lands; New Jersey sacrificed the objections she had urged; Delaware followed, and, after two years, Maryland. Thereupon Virginia ceded her claims to the Northwestern Territory, giving an imperial domain to the Union, and thereby insuring its permanency. This cession was not, however, completed until 1784.

From these events we may perceive how strong the public desire was becoming that the disconnected states should unite, and that a nation should be formed. It was clear that mere state governments could never force England into an acknowledgment of independence, and that "there were things to be done on this continent which could only be done by a national power." Not

Misgivings respecting centralization. but that there were many misgivings that confederation would lead to consolidation, and the germ of an imperial authority be planted. But the great men who stood at the general point of view recognized the irresistible necessity. Washington says that ever since he had been in the service he had labored to discourage all kinds of local attachments and distinctions of country, denominating the whole by the greater name of AMERICAN, but that he had found it impossible to overcome prejudices.

Final adoption of the "Articles of Confederation." On March 1st, 1781, the Articles of Confederation were finally adopted by the states. Under the designation of "The United States of America," "a firm league of friendship was mutually contracted between each other for their defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever."

CHAPTER XV.

DEVELOPMENT OF UNIONISM AND PROGRESS OF CENTRALIZATION. THE CONSTITUTION.

The Confederation proves to be inadequate to the wants of the nation, and is supplanted by the Constitutional Union. There is a struggle in several of the states to resist their destiny. Executive power is eventually lodged in one man, and Washington is elected the first President. It becomes apparent that in the American Republic, as in all great communities, the concentration of power is inevitable.

A FEW years of trial demonstrated the practical inefficiency of "the Confederation." The war had closed, independence and peace had been secured. The concessions so grudgingly yielded—concessions extorted solely by the stern logic of events, proved altogether inadequate to the necessities of the nation. It became apparent that too much power had been retained by the states, too little granted to Congress.

The Confederation proves to be a failure.

The American Revolution was a protest against the central authority of London. This gave a tone to the action of the associated colonies.

The jealousy with which its Articles were conceded.

They were bent on making personal rights and provincial rights secure. The jealousy they had manifested to the English king and Parliament they transferred to the government they themselves proposed to create. They looked upon their Union as a league, each state standing in a sovereign attitude, each, large or small, having an equal vote. The privilege of taxation they had refused to the king they equally refused to their government. They gave it the power of contracting debts, but not the means of paying them. It had not even the means of paying accruing interest. It might make requisitions, but nothing more. Thirteen independent Legis-

latures, at their pleasure, allowed or refused the necessary pecuniary grants. With a defective worldly wisdom, the Confederacy was made to trust to sentiments of patriotism and honor, not to obligations that were capable of being enforced. Washington declared that the prolongation of the war through so many years was due to Congress not having the power of taxation. It was not permitted to levy import or export duties. It had no control over foreign trade. It had no independent revenue. The quotas to be paid by the different states to meet the general needs were levied, not in proportion to the population, but on the value of real estate. There was no federal judicature. No standing United States army was permitted. It was thought that liberty would be less endangered by dividing the military force into thirteen little armies, each state controlling its own fragment.

Mr. Bancroft, in his examination of the Confederation (Hist. U. S., vol. ix., p. 446), makes this remark: "A government which had not the power to levy a tax, or raise a soldier, or deal directly with an individual, or keep its engagements with foreign powers, or amend its Constitution without the unanimous consent of its members, had not force enough to live." The people had yet to learn that, to perpetuate liberty, a portion of freedom must be surrendered.

No one comprehended more clearly the position of affairs, or foresaw more plainly the inevitable event, than Washington—no one recognized the feebleness of the Confederacy more quickly. In 1784, in a letter to the Governor of Virginia, he says: "The disinclination of the individual states to yield competent powers to Congress for the federal government, the unreasonable jealousy of that body and of one another, and the disposition which seems to pervade each of being all-

Washington's
views respecting
its imperfections.

His letter to the
Governor of Vir-
ginia.

wise and all-powerful within itself, will, if there is not a change in the system, be our downfall as a nation. This is as clear to me as A B C; and I think we have opposed Great Britain, and have arrived at the present state of peace and independence to very little purpose, if we can

He sees that a portion of freedom must be surrendered to secure liberty.

not conquer our own prejudices. The powers of Europe begin to see this, and our newly-acquired friends, the British, are already acting upon this ground, and wisely too, if we are determined in our folly. They know that individual opposition to their measures is futile, and boast that we are not sufficiently united as a nation to give a general one. Is not the indignity alone of this declaration, while we are in the act of peace-making and reconciliation, sufficient to stimulate us to vest more extensive and adequate powers in the sovereigns of these United States?"

In a letter to Henry Lee (Oct., 1786), Washington says:

His letter to Lee.

"You talk, my good sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts (Shay's Rebellion). I know not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. *Influence is not government.* Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once."

In another letter to Mr. Jay, Washington says: "Your

His letter to Mr. Jay, enforcing the necessity of a stronger government.

statements that our affairs are drawing rapidly to a crisis accord with my own. What the event will be is also beyond my foresight. We have errors to correct. We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our Confederation. Experience has taught us that men will not adopt and carry into execution measures the best calculated for their own good without the intervention of coercive power.

“I do not conceive we can long exist as a nation without lodging somewhere a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the state governments extends over the several states. To be fearful of investing Congress, constituted as that body is, with ample authority for national purposes, appears to me the climax of popular absurdity and madness. Could Congress exert this for the detriment of the people without injuring themselves in an equal or greater proportion? Are not their interests inseparably connected with those of their constituents?

“By the rotation of appointment, must they not mingle frequently with the mass of citizens? Is it not rather to be apprehended, if they were possessed of the powers before described, that the individual members would be induced to use them on many occasions very timidly and reluctantly, for fear of losing their popularity and future election? We must take human nature as we find it; perfection falls not to the share of mortals. Many are of opinion that Congress have too frequently made use of the suppliant, humble tone of requisition in their applications to the states, when they had a right to assert their imperial dignity and command obedience. Be this as it may, requisitions are a perfect nullity when thirteen sovereign, independent, and disunited states are in the habit of discussing and refusing them at their option. Requisitions are actually little better than a jest and a by-word throughout the land. If you tell the Legislatures they have violated the treaty of peace and invaded the prerogatives of the Confederacy, they will laugh in your face. What, then, is to be done? It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with these circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution whatever.

“We are apt to run from one extreme to another. To

anticipate and prevent disastrous contingencies would be the part of wisdom and patriotism.

“What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking; thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious! Would to God that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend.”

Washington knew well, for he had realized it in many a bitter moment during the war, that the battle of the Revolution had been fought between a centralized government on one side and an incoherent league of quarrelsome provinces on the other. A shifting sand may, as geologists tell us, be made to cohere into stone if it be submitted to a sufficiently severe pressure for a sufficient time, but such a sandstone, at the best, possesses no flexibility: it is brittle, and can not stand a blow. To give it resisting qualities, it must either be infiltrated with some cementing material or melted by fire. Washington knew that it was a clear perception of this loose aggregation by “our newly-acquired friends” that led them to refuse the concession of a treaty of commerce. No guarantee could be given by America of her ability to discharge her part of obligations contracted. He saw that “state influence” would make the states the sport of European policy, and that there must be a continental power.

The opinions thus expressed by Washington were also held by Hamilton, the ablest statesman of the Revolution. He saw that it was abso-

Views of Hamilton.

lutely necessary to establish a solid coercive union; that it would never do to have an uncontrollable sovereignty in the states, capable of defeating the powers it had conferred on Congress. He saw, also, the necessary inefficiency of an army belonging to thirteen different and frequently rival powers. He would have a chief executive officer, and give complete sovereignty to Congress, surrendering to it the public purse, and a control over foreign affairs—war, marine, finance, trade. He would have a general government acting directly on the people, and with ample means for its own defense.

In a letter to Mr. Duane (1780), Hamilton describes His description of the Confederation. very forcibly the imperfections of the Confederation, and indicates the organization which he thinks the country requires. “The Confederation itself is defective, and requires to be altered. It is neither fit for war nor peace. The idea of an uncontrollable sovereignty in each state over its own internal police will defeat the other powers given to Congress, and make our Union feeble and precarious. There are instances without number where acts necessary for the general good, and which rise out of the powers given to Congress, must interfere with the internal police of the states; and there are as many instances in which the particular states, by arrangements of internal police, can effectually, though indirectly, counteract the arrangements of Congress. You have already had examples of this, for which I refer to your own memory. The Confederation gives the states individually too much influence in the affairs of the army; they should have nothing to do with it. The entire foundation and disposal of our military forces ought to belong to Congress. It is an essential element of the Union, and it ought to be the policy of Congress to destroy all ideas of state attachment in the army, and make it look up wholly to them. For this purpose, all ap-

pointments, promotion, and provisions whatsoever ought to be made by them. It may be apprehended that this may be dangerous to liberty. But nothing appears more evident to me than that we run much greater risk of having a weak and disunited Federal government than one which will be able to usurp upon the rights of the people. Already some of the lines of the army would obey their states in opposition to Congress, notwithstanding the pains we have taken to preserve the unity of the army. If any thing would hinder this it would be the personal influence of the general—a melancholy and mortifying consideration. The forms of our state Constitutions must always give them great weight in our affairs, and will make it too difficult to blind them to the pursuit of a common interest, too easy to oppose what they do not like, and to form partial combinations subversive of the general one. There is a wide difference between our situation and that of an empire under one simple form of government, distributed into counties, provinces, or districts, which have no Legislatures, but merely magistral bodies to execute the laws of a common sovereign. There the danger is that the sovereign will have too much power, and oppress the parts of which it is composed. In our case, that of an empire composed of confederate states, each with a government completely organized within itself, having all the means to draw its subjects to a close dependence on itself, the danger is directly the reverse. It is that the common sovereign will not have power sufficient to unite the different members together, and direct the common forces to the interest and happiness of the whole. The Confederation, too, gives the power of the purse too entirely to the state Legislatures. It should provide perpetual funds, in the disposal of Congress, by a land-tax, poll-tax, or the like. All imposts upon commerce ought to be laid by Congress, and appropriated to

their use, for without certain revenues a government can have no power; that power which holds the purse-strings absolutely must rule. This seems to be a medium which, without making Congress altogether independent, will tend to give reality to its authority. Another defect in our system is want of method and energy in the administration. This has partly resulted from the other defect, but in a great degree from prejudice and the want of a proper executive. Congress have kept the power too much in their own hands, and have meddled too much with detail of every sort. Congress is properly a deliberative corps, and it forgets itself when it attempts to play the executive. It is impossible that a body numerous as it is—constantly fluctuating—can ever act with sufficient decision or with system. Two thirds of the members one half the time can not know what has gone before them, or what connection the subject in hand has to what has been transacted on former occasions. The members who have been more permanent will only give information that promotes the side they espouse in the present case, and will as often mislead as enlighten. The variety of business must distract, and the proneness of every assembly to debate must at all times delay. Lastly, Congress, convinced of these inconveniences, have gone into the measure of appointing boards. But this is, in my opinion, a bad plan. A single man in each department of the administration would be greatly preferable. It would give us a chance of more knowledge, more activity, more responsibility, and, of course, more zeal and attention. Boards partake of the inconveniences of larger assemblies; their decisions are slower, their energy less, their responsibility more diffuse. They will not have the same abilities and knowledge as an administration by single men. Men of the first pretensions will not so readily engage in them because they will be less conspicuous, of less im-

portance, have less opportunity of distinguishing themselves. The members of boards will take less pains to inform themselves and arrive at eminence, because they have fewer motives to do it." "I shall now propose the remedies which appear to me applicable to our circumstances, and necessary to extricate our affairs from their present deplorable situation. The first step must be to give Congress powers competent to the public exigencies. The Confederation should give Congress a complete sovereignty except as to that part of internal police which relates to the rights of property and life among individuals, and to raising money by internal taxes. It is necessary that every thing belonging to this should be regulated by the state Legislatures. Congress should have complete sovereignty in all that relates to war, peace, trade, finance, and to the management of foreign affairs, the right of declaring war, of raising armies, officering, paying them, directing their motions in every respect, of equipping fleets, and doing the same with them, of building fortifications, arsenals, magazines, etc., of making peace on such conditions as they think proper, of regulating trade, determining with what countries it shall be carried on, granting indulgences, laying prohibitions on all articles of export or import, imposing duties, granting bounties and premiums for raising, exporting, or importing, and applying to their own use the product of these duties, only giving credit to the states on whom they are raised in a general account of revenues and expense, instituting admiralty courts, etc., of coining money, establishing banks on such terms and with such privileges as they think proper, appropriating funds, and doing whatever else relates to the operations of finance, transacting every thing with foreign nations, making alliances offensive and defensive, and treaties of commerce," etc. "The second step I would recommend

Hamilton proposes
a stronger form of
government.

is, that Congress should instantly appoint the following great officers of state: a secretary for foreign affairs, a president of war, a president of marine, a financier, a president of trade—these officers should have nearly the same powers and functions as those in France analogous to them, and each should be chief in his department, with subordinate boards composed of assistants, clerks, etc., to execute his orders.”

Disheartened by the condition of affairs, the leading men one after another had abandoned the Congress. In 1783 it had actually dwindled down to a meeting of twenty persons, migrating to various places. After the peace the states usurped its authority in matters relating to foreign debts, disloyal persons, and other particulars. The English refused to deliver up the Western posts, because Congress could not make good its part of the treaty. The principle that had been successfully maintained by the small against the large states in the division of Western territory was seized upon by demagogues, who incited the people to demand that property should be divided and held in common, since all had been engaged in saving it from British confiscation, and, therefore, were equally entitled to it. Such motives lay at the bottom of Shay's rebellion, which would have annihilated all property and canceled all debts. That rebellion gave the most intense anxiety to Washington.

Hamilton has described in a very striking manner the imperfect statesmanship of the times. He says: “It would be the extreme of vanity in us not to be sensible that we began this revolution with very vague and confined notions of the practical business of government. To the greater part

Abandonment of Congress by its members.

The spread of dissatisfaction. Shay's insurrection.

Imperfect statesmanship of the times.

of us it was a novelty. Of those who, under the former Constitution, had had opportunities of acquiring experience, a large proportion adhered to the opposite side, and the remainder can only be supposed to have possessed ideas adapted to the narrow colonial sphere in which they had been accustomed to move—not of that enlarged kind suited to the government of an independent nation. There were, no doubt, exceptions to these observations—men in all respects qualified for conducting the public affairs with skill and advantage—but their number was small; they were not always brought forward in our councils, and when they were, their influence was too commonly borne down by the prevailing torrent of ignorance and prejudice. On a retrospect, however, of our transactions under the disadvantages with which we commenced, it is, perhaps, more to be wondered at that we have done so well, than that we have not done better. There are, indeed, some traits in our conduct as conspicuous for sound policy as others for magnanimity. But, on the other hand, it must also be confessed that there have been many false steps, many chimerical projects and utopian speculations in the management of our civil as well as our military affairs. A part of these were the natural effects of the spirit of the times, dictated by our situation. An extreme jealousy of power is the attendant on all popular revolutions, and has seldom been without its evils. It is to this source we are to trace many of the fatal mistakes which have so deeply endangered the popular cause particularly—a want of power in Congress.”

With that horror of anarchy which is innate in elevated minds, Hamilton elsewhere says: “A nation without a national government is an awful spectacle.”

Shay’s insurrection, the danger of losing possession of the Mississippi River, the commercial policy of England, and a general sentiment of the complete inefficiency of

Motives for modifying the Confederation. the Confederation, made it clear that the federal powers must be increased. America could not stand in an attitude of equality with the great powers of Europe unless she stood as one republic, not as thirteen petty sovereignties. Those powers were willing enough to treat with her as a collection of rival states, and to receive consuls from each. And if that was the condition in the outward relations, it was no better in the domestic. Rivalries, jealousies, conflicting interests, were bringing the states into hostility to each other. They were ready to make subordinate leagues, dictated by their local interests. Washington declared that the true source of all the trouble lay in the tenacity of the states to retain their power.

Action of the states. Massachusetts took the lead in applying the indispensable remedy by declaring that the Articles of Confederation were inadequate to their purpose. In this she was followed by Virginia, and then by New York; but Congress still retained the old jealousy of any thing that could possibly have a leaning to aristocratic or monarchical intentions.

Proposal of Congress to revise the Articles of Confederation. Unable, however, to resist the public pressure, Congress at length, in 1787, passed a resolution calling a meeting of delegates from all the states for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as should, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the states, render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government and the preservation of the Union. Delegates were accordingly appointed from all the states except Rhode Island. The meeting took place at Philadelphia, and Washington was unanimously elected to preside over its deliberations. It was at once found impracticable to revise

The Convention find it necessary to devise a new Constitution.

the old Articles of Confederation, as had been ordered, and a majority of the Convention resolved to form an entirely new Constitution.

It is resisted as an attempt at centralization.

The Constitution agreed upon and transmitted to Congress was submitted to Conventions of the several states. In the discussions that ensued among some of these bodies the political position was very clearly set forth. As a striking example may be quoted the speech of Patrick Henry in the Convention of Virginia. He demanded why the old Confederation had been abandoned, and by what authority the Convention had assumed to make a consolidated government.

Patrick Henry's attack on it.

"I would here make this inquiry of those worthy characters who composed a part of the late federal Convention. I am sure they were fully impressed with the necessity of forming *a great consolidated government* instead of a confederation. That this is a consolidated government is demonstrably clear, and the danger of such a government is to my mind very striking. I have the highest veneration for those gentlemen, but, sir, give me leave to demand what right had they to say *We, the people*? My political curiosity, exclusive of my anxious solicitude for the public welfare, leads me to ask who authorized them to speak the language of *we, the people*, instead of *we, the states*? States are the characteristics, the soul of the Confederation. If the *states* be not the agents of the compact, it must be one great consolidated government of *the people* of all the states. I have the highest respect for those gentlemen who formed the Convention, and, were not some of them here, I would express some testimonial of esteem for them. America had, on a former occasion, put the utmost confidence in them—a confidence which was well

placed, and I am sure, sir, I could give up any thing to them. I would cheerfully confide in them as my representatives. But, sir, on this great occasion, I would demand the cause of their conduct. Even from that illustrious man who saved us by his valor, I would have a reason for his conduct; that liberty which he has given us by his valor tells me to ask this reason, and sure I am, were he here, he would give us this information. The people gave them no power to use their name. That they exceeded their power is perfectly clear."

"The proposed system produces a revolution as radical as that which separated us from Great Britain. It is as radical if in this transition our rights and privileges are endangered, and the sovereignty of the states be relinquished; and can not we plainly see that this is actually the case? The rights of conscience, trial by jury, liberty of the press, all your immunities and franchises, all pretensions to human rights and privileges, are rendered insecure, if not lost, by this change, so loudly talked of by some, so inconsiderately by others. Is this tame relinquishment of rights worthy of freemen? Is it worthy of that manly fortitude that ought to characterize republicans? It is said that eight states have adopted this plan. I declare that if twelve and a half had adopted it, I would, with manly firmness, and in spite of an erring world, reject it."

"Should it go into operation, what will the states have to do? Take care of the poor, repair and make highways, erect bridges, and so on, and so on. Abolish the state Legislatures at once. For what purposes should they be retained?"

From such facts it appears that the interpretation put upon the Constitution by those who were disposed to reject it was that it substituted for a Confederacy a centralized government,

He affirms that it is destructive of state rights.

Nature of the political problem that the Constitution proposed to solve.

operating upon every individual, and declining the states which by it lost their sovereignty. The political problem was to combine power in the government with liberty in the individual. The conditions under which it had to be solved had never before existed in any nation. In America there was no common religious bond uniting the people together. The decomposition of faith, so powerfully promoted by the Reformation, had gone to an extreme. It was impossible to introduce such an element as an Established Church, and secure influence in that way. Up to this time there had been but two powers in the world, the military and the ecclesiastical. Relying, therefore, on the fact that man tends spontaneously to centralization in government, and has a horror of anarchy, the statesmen of the time were driven to political combinations alone, hoping to secure strength from the union and liberty from the state governments.

Mr. Webster's
views of the true
character of the
Constitution.

Many years subsequently Mr. Webster defined the government thus formed as a centralized organization of the people. He showed,
“1st. That the Constitution of the United States is not a league, confederacy, or compact between the people of the several states, in their sovereign capacity, but a government founded on the adoption of the people, and creating direct relations between itself and individuals.

“2d. That no state authority has power to dissolve those relations; that nothing can dissolve them but revolution; and that, consequently, there can be no such thing as secession without revolution.

“3d. That there is a supreme law, consisting of the Constitution of the United States, acts of Congress passed in pursuance of it, and treaties; and that, in cases not capable of assuming the character of a suit in law or equity, Congress must judge of and finally interpret this su-

preme law as often as it has occasion to pass acts of legislation; and in cases capable of assuming the character of a suit, the Supreme Court of the United States is the first interpreter.

“4th. That the attempt by a state to abrogate, annul, or nullify an act of Congress, or to arrest its operation within her limits, on the ground that, in her opinion, such law is unconstitutional, is a direct usurpation on the first powers of the general government and on the equal rights of the other states, a plain violation of the Constitution, and a proceeding essentially revolutionary in its character and tendency.”

The essential difference between the Confederation and the Constitution which displaced it was therefore this: that the former acted on the states, the latter on individuals; the former was a union of states, the latter a sovereignty over the people.

The Constitution was at length ratified and adopted.

Adoption of the
Constitution, 1789.
Washington the
first President.

The states gave up the distinctive attributes of sovereignty — diplomatic relations with foreign countries, contracting of treaties, issuing of coinage, etc. The first Congress under it met at New York on the 4th of March, 1789, and in the next month Washington was inaugurated President of the United States.

In fourteen years the march of events had been very rapid. It is a great step from Franklin's unsuccessful proposal of an executive council of twelve, changing year by year, to one president holding his office for four years, and capable of re-election. The nation clearly discerned that liberty could not be made safe without governmental restraint.

We see herein the resistless tendency of political affairs to concentration. The “Articles of Confederation” were avowedly proposed to secure

Rapid progress of
centralization.

a perpetual union of the states. The Revolutionary War had sanctified the idea of nationality. On that grand occasion, when Washington, who knew equally well how to command and how to obey, appeared in the hall of Congress and resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the army, the President of Congress no longer spoke of CONFEDERATED COLONIES, but invoked the favor of Almighty God on THE NATION. A little time elapses, and Washington reappears as the chief executive officer of that nation.

The moral grandeur of the first President was as strikingly manifested by his conduct in reference to the Constitution as by the events of the Revolutionary War. The forces at his disposal at the epoch of the Declaration of Independence amounted only to about 17,000 men. After the disaster on Long Island, the retreat from New York, the action at White Plains, the passage of the Hudson, they had dwindled down to barely 3000, ill provisioned, and without blankets or tents. Judged by the standard of the civil war, how insignificant these forces appear! With unfailing courage, Washington held firm in the dreadful retreat through New Jersey, and the forced passage of the Delaware. He did not despair when the militia, whose term of service was expiring, left him, nor when his regulars deserted. He was still hopeful when worsted at the Brandywine, and after his ineffectual attempt to save Philadelphia, and after his repulse at Germantown. His constancy was not shaken in the winter at Valley Forge, when he was almost destitute of clothing, of shelter, of food.

His march from New York to co-operate with the fleet of De Grasse, expected in Chesapeake Bay, was a model of skillful combination and celerity. Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander-in-chief, did not suspect his design until it was too late. After a siege of Yorktown, lasting

Character of Washington.

only thirteen days, he compelled Lord Cornwallis to surrender his whole army of 7000 men and 160 guns. That siege was the end of the war.

Washington had shown that he could bear adversity with fortitude, and strike when his opportunity came with irresistible vigor. In a manner unparalleled in history, he had declined the blandishments of ambition, descending without reluctance from the plenitude of power. When, in the evening of his life, he was constrained to confess, "Perhaps we have had too good an opinion of human nature," he did not, as the aged too commonly do, adhere with a delusive consistency to his former ideas, but, estimating justly the blessings that were to be gained or forever lost, he recommended to his reluctant countrymen a distasteful centralization. He solemnly taught them that liberty can not exist without order, and that order implies restraint. Once clearly perceiving the inevitable course of events, and that, for the harmonious development of a great and growing nation in all its parts, "power must be lodged at one point," his chief solicitude was to guide what it was obviously impossible to avoid.

With majestic serenity he encountered misrepresentation and obloquy. A bill for the increase of the army was denounced as proving the existence of monarchical designs on the part of his administration. The proclamation of neutrality at the breaking out of the war between the French Republic and England and Holland was stigmatized as a high-handed assumption of power on his part—a royal edict, evincing his monarchical disposition. In this we see a revival of the jealous sentiment which had led New Jersey, in 1777, to regard his proclamation requiring the taking of an oath of allegiance to the United States as an invasion of her state rights.

If Franklin is to be regarded as the representative man of the final colonial period, Washington unquestionably

assumes the same attitude in the first generation of independent America. From his appointment to the command of the Revolutionary army to the day of his death (1799), he is the central figure in the picture of American life. He dealt with two great political facts—the emancipation of his native country from foreign rule, and its subsequent political organization. He dealt successfully with both. Indeed, these were the two facts with which the generation in which he lived was concerned. They engrossed, almost to the exclusion of every thing else, the public attention. There was no time, no opportunity for the cultivation of literature or science. Inventive talent slept, for it was not until nearly the end of Washington's life that Whitney's gin gave an earnest of what that talent would eventually do.

Re-elected president at the close of his first term, the influence of Washington thoroughly consolidated the nation. In him the jarring and jealous states not only acknowledged, but claimed a common ruler. He was found to excel in peace as well as in war; and as he had been fearless in action, so he was wise in council. Not sanguine in prosperity, he never desponded in adversity. Superior to all selfish considerations, he was, without reward, faithful to the interests of his country. Cool, deliberate, indefatigable, and of unsullied integrity, he was never envious of another's virtue, for he was conscious of his own; and happier even during life than most of the race of men, he surmounted the greatest of human difficulties—he silenced envy. Considering every thing as subordinate to truth, his statesmanship was simple—it consisted only of uprightness and straightforwardness. The majesty of his character was expressed in the austere severity of his countenance. As if he had been more than mortal man, the admiration that was cherished for his memory by his immediate successors has given place

to veneration, a sentiment that will last as long as honor and justice, virtue and liberty, are prized by the human race.

The government had been federal under the Articles of Confederation, but the people quickly recognized that that relation was changing under the Constitution. They began to discern that the power they thought they had delegated was in fact surrendered, and that henceforth no single state could meet the general government as a sovereign and equal. In vain, in subsequent years, did South Carolina assert her right and intention to interfere as a sovereign and arrest the action of the general government. In vain, in her address to her own people in 1832, did she affirm that the government is not national, but only a mere creation of the states; that power has only been delegated to it, and may be resumed; that there is no such body known to the laws as "the People of the United States;" that a state has a right to resist; that the Supreme Court is no tribunal in such affairs, since it is only the creature of the government. In vain did she assert that the primary allegiance of a citizen is due to his state.

The states at this epoch surrendered their sovereignty.

Continued protest of South Carolina against that conclusion.

The course of events has shown that President Jackson truly expounded the actual political position when he declared that the laws of the United States must be executed, and that any attempt at disunion by armed force is treason.

If now we review the various acts in which the generation living from 1775 to 1805 were concerned, we find that they may be included in one term, the establishment of the New England idea of NATIONAL UNITY. For that the old colonies hoped, for that their chief men, as Franklin, sedulous-

The colonies, in truth, had been fused into one nation.

ly worked. Its advantages once experienced, for under a most imperfect form it delivered them from English restriction and English rule, they set themselves to improve it and give it durability. Detecting the imperfections of their Confederation, they replaced it by a Constitutional Union, and Washington, the first President, became the incarnation of the idea. Meantime there was germinating in secrecy and unsuspected an antagonistic principle, destined in a future generation to dispute the empire in mortal conflict with Unionism.

Confederation passes into union, union produces consolidation, consolidation condenses into centralization. It is well for every reflecting man to consider that inevitable sequence.

The inevitable progress of political consolidation.

Contrast the feeble and unheeded cry of the Continental Congress—its supplications—its inability to touch individuals, with the administrative vigor of the civil war.

But, though the course of empire is unvarying and resistless, its character may be determined by men. In an ignorant and animalized nation, the central power will be profligate and tyrannical; on the contrary, an intelligent people can fashion it as they please.

Perhaps no political assertion is more distasteful to an American than this, that his institutions inevitably tend to centralization.

It is equally offensive to the individualism of the North and to the independence of the South, but it is none the less true.

Forms of polity are the ephemeral products of human invention, but the course of political life is beyond contrivance or control. It proceeds in an unavoidable, a necessary way.

We have an illustration of this irresistible progress in

The tendency to centralization is exhibited in personal life. the biography of every man. From the first moment of life to the last there is an inevitable order of development. Many forms in succession are assumed previously to birth, and after that he pursues an invariable course—infancy, childhood, youth, maturity, decline. Over these, and the attributes that belong to them, he can not exert any voluntary control; the young are actuated by passion, the old are guided by experience. We came into the world without our own knowledge, we depart from it against our own will.

But if thus, in personal life, there is a predestined course through which every human being must pass, the opportunity is not denied for a manifestation of individual peculiarities. The sketch, the outline of our career is imposed upon us; we are permitted to fill in the colors as we please.

It is the same with a nation. There is a course through which it must necessarily pass. Centralization is one of its forms.

Manifestation of centralization by Force and by Reason. Centralization may be manifested through a control by brute force; it may also be manifested by the dominion of Reason. Centralization of the former kind may well excite the antipathy of the American; that of the latter may commend itself to his admiration.

The course of empire is prefigured by the course of Nature.

The inevitable tendency to centralization illustrated by the vegetable world. A botanist, looking back on the past history of the vegetable kingdom, will tell us that in the early days there were dense jungles covering vast geographical tracts—multitudes of plants starting up in an inextricable confusion where only one can now grow. But that, though we speak of it as one, in truth represents those multi-

tudinous forms collected, ordered, concentrated together. The buds that have appeared in successive seasons upon the oak of a thousand years were each of them individuals; the tree itself is their combination, a bouquet invisibly tied by the hand of Nature. The forests teach us the inevitable concentrating of power.

The botanist will also tell us that this gradual concentration which he every where sees is the necessary result of natural causes; that plants, such as palms, are the representatives of a declining but nearly uniform heat, and that others, such as the oaks, of which we have been speaking, the stems of which, when we cut them across, exhibit the appearance of annual rings, could only come after the seasons—spring, summer, autumn, and winter—were established in the year. The seasons were the cause, the ring-like construction the effect. The general concentration, the high organization exhibited by the whole tree, is the immediate issue of physical causes. Considered in the largest, the philosophical sense, the concentrated tree is the inevitable result of the continuous operation of natural law.

Now we do not quarrel with the botanist because he points out these things to us; on the contrary, we experience a positive pleasure as he expands our views of the relations of these beautiful organic forms. The higher our degree of previous mental culture may have been, the more clearly do we see fitness and even magnificence in this universal operation of law—law pervading the ages, without variableness or shadow of turning.

In the same manner the physiologist will speak. He will tell us that in that orderly progression of animals which have appeared upon our earth there is plainly manifested the principle of concentration. In the lowest forms of life, power seems to be equally diffused in all the parts. One may

It is farther illustrated by the orders of animal life,

cut such creatures in pieces, and each portion is as perfect, is as good as any of the rest. From this condition, in an inevitable order, a progress is made; parts that were confused together are separated; one duty is assigned to this, another to that; above all, one is selected for dominating control. It sends forth its volitions, they execute its decrees. Very strikingly do we see the issue of this in the last comers of the insect tribes—the bees and ants. Concentration has gone so far in them that they are able to maintain social relations with one another, to constitute true societies. They have means for the intercommunication of their thoughts; they have ideas of government, and, therefore, of law; the one prefers a republican, the other a monarchical form.

But the physiologist, moreover, says that this orderly progression, this tendency to concentration, And especially in the physiological development of man. is seen not only in the world of animals, but also in the life of individual man. He passes through a predestined series of developments; every man *must*, without exception or variation, pass through them. Each form has its special lineaments, and also its special attributes. There is the slumber of infancy, the activity of childhood, the hope of youth, the staid gravity of the mature period of reason, the doubt, distrust, imbecility of old age. The life of man culminates under the dominion of intellect.

There are very great astronomers and very great mathematicians who tell us that in the beginning all the substance of which the various planets are composed was mingled together in one confused, one attenuated revolving mass—a nebula of matter and force. By natural operations, which they affirm they can explain, a condensation ensued, and, one after another, in an order that might have been precalculated, for it bears a mathematical impress, orb

It is also illustrated by the system of the world,

after orb was cast off from the revolving mass, and a family of worlds—the solar system—arose. On each of these resulting globes, in a grand but necessary manner, recombinations and redistributions of the original principles, the matter and the force, occurred, here issuing in mechanical movement, there finding an expression in the production of organic forms—organic forms which are only local and temporary concentrations of power, ever ready to be redistributed and re-used. Round the central sun, in which, by reason of his predominating mass, predominating power had centred, these obedient worlds, with all their servitor satellites, pursue their courses. There was no hanging back in the movement; no vagrant, wanton wandering, no revolt. Through unutterable ages this universe was, as it is now, an exhibition of inconceivable energy, mathematical precision, paramount and predominating law. The concentration of power is equally manifested by the humble moss that grows upon the wall, and by the awful magnificence of the heavens.

As we did not quarrel with the botanist, so we do not quarrel with the physiologist, the mathematician, the astronomer, for what they say. We perceive that it is not the expression of their own opinions or desires, but strictly a relation of facts—facts which would remain the same whether they spoke of them or not. We may have objections or dislikes to them, they may not accord with our preconceived notions, but that has nothing to do with their value, because it has nothing to do with the truth.

So, when the historian, who has examined the progress of human societies, declares that the same principle of concentration perpetually manifests itself in them, we should receive in a philosophical spirit the evidences he presents. It is of no avail to express our dislike or displeasure; it is of no

And by the historical testimony of nations.

use to declare that we are different from the rest of the race of men, and that what has applied to others will not hold good for us. We can not too clearly bear in mind that there is one law, one destiny for all. If the things of which we are thus told be true—if there be this latent, this irresistible dominion of Nature—if the inevitable consequence be the separation of society into grades, and the convergence of power to one point, does any thing more remain than that we should accept the truth, and deal with it as best we may? To that concentration, in which all social and political combinations must culminate, we may give characteristics—we may permit it to be the concentration of violence and brute force, or the controlling influence of reason. Its advent we can not avoid, its character we may determine.

Democratical communities too often hide out of sight these obvious truths, considering them inconsistent with the independence and equality of man. Perpetually resorting to organization for the accomplishment of their ends, they decline an acknowledgment of the principle implied in that term—the partition of duties, the imposing of responsibilities, the delegation of power. In any organized democracy, though all the members may fancy that they reign, if they will only open their eyes, they will perceive that it is few who govern.

Repugnance of democracies to these ideas.

CHAPTER XVI.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SLAVE POWER.

Through improvements in the cotton manufacture, negro slavery was restored from the languishing condition into which it had fallen at the close of the last century, and became a great power in the republic. A pro-slavery influence came into existence in England. It was ascertained that the American Slave States could obtain a monopoly in the cotton supply, but to insure this they must have more land and more laborers. Their political necessities coincided with their industrial necessities; they must have more territory to maintain a balance of power in the United States Senate, and more slaves to give weight in the House of Representatives. They expected to secure these objects by an alliance with the Democratic party.

Influence of the
slave power. AFTER the Declaration of Independence, the first generation, as we have seen, was occupied in forming a nation out of what had, up to that time, been disconnected colonies. The annals of that period are the annals of the foundation and consolidation of the Union. In the second generation, from 1805 to 1835, we witness the growth of the antagonistic principle, slavery, which, from being in a languishing and apparently moribund condition, suddenly, under the influence of accidental circumstances, gained a new lease of life. The ominous and lowering aspect of this dark apparition throws into insignificance all contemporaneous events. The romantic conspiracy of Burr, the war with England, the purchase of Florida, the Hartford Convention, the establishment of a National Bank, the tariff disputes, and Nullification, gather their chief interest from their bearing upon the development of this baleful power.

Statistics of its
gradual develop-
ment. It has been already stated that negro slaves were first introduced into Virginia in 1620. The cultivation of tobacco led to a pressing demand for laborers, and the supply from Africa

continually increased. In 1645 the value of a negro man in Virginia was about \$100; the black population was to the white as 1 to 50. In the course of 156 years (1776), counting from the first importation, probably about 300,000 slaves had been brought from Africa. Several of the colonies remonstrated against the trade. Rhode Island had prohibited perpetual servitude; in Georgia, Oglethorpe had interdicted it. In opposition to these attempts, the British government steadily encouraged it. In 1774 the Continental Congress resolved that the importation of slaves should be stopped, but in 1789, at the formation of the Constitution, Congress was restrained from interdicting the trade until 1808, when it was ended. In 1820 Congress passed a law declaring the slave-trade piracy.

The following table gives the slave population of the United States from 1790 to 1860:

Years.	Slave Population.	Years.	Slave Population.
1790	697,879	1830	2,009,043
1800	893,041	1840	2,487,455
1810	1,191,364	1850	3,204,313
1820	1,538,038	1860	3,952,801

From this it appears that the increments are not quite equal to what they should be if measured by the standard of the white races on the admission of an unrestrained generative action. The resistances which have kept the numbers down are undoubtedly to be sought for in the unfavorable social circumstances of Southern slave life. It is to be observed that the increase for the decade ending in 1840 is below the mean.

The periodical oscillations of the black population—their increasing more rapidly during the decade from 1820 to 1830, and declining during another, from 1830 to 1840,

are probably connected with the increased importation of African slaves from 1800 to 1808, in view of the impending prohibition of the trade. The progress of their modification by blood-admixture is also very obvious. In 1850 one ninth of the colored population was returned as mulattoes; in 1860 the proportion had risen to one eighth.

The great staples of the South eventually became cotton and tobacco. Indian corn in sufficient quantities for domestic consumption was produced; the marshy lands furnished rice; the cooler upper states yielded large quantities of live-stock and hemp. In the extreme South, where the temperature is high, sugar was made.

Cotton and tobacco become the chief staples of the South.

Cotton, which is here exclusively derived from the annual varieties of the cotton-plant, the perennial trees of the tropics being not only unsuited to the climate, but yielding a very inferior product, has for its northern boundary the annual isothermal line of 60° ; it is therefore found on that part of the great tertiary deposits which reaches from North Carolina to the Rio Grande (see map, page 40). For its luxuriant growth a large amount of water is required, and this, as we have seen, is supplied to the cotton-growing domain by the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf Stream, which follows the shore-line in the Atlantic Ocean. Cotton was first planted in Virginia in 1621. Textile fabrics of it were largely used in Mexico from the remotest times.

Geography of the cotton domain.

The great improvements in the cotton manufacture in England in the latter half of the last century, the application of the steam-engine as a motive power in mills, replacing the uncertain winds and restricted waterfalls, and permitting the establishment of manufactories any where, the invention of Whitney's gin, successively gave an im-

Continually in-
creasing cultiva-
tion of cotton.

petus to the growth of this fibre. The prod-
uct of cotton furnished from America in
1856 was estimated at seven eighths that of
the whole world; it amounted in 1860 to more than four
millions and a half of bales (4,675,770). It should be
remembered, however, that the weight of the bale has un-
dergone variations; thus, in 1840, it was 380 lbs. nearly;
in 1850 it had risen to about 450 lbs.

Statistics of its pro-
duction.

In 1821 the cotton crop amounted to less than half a
million of bales; at the end of the next six
years it doubled; in twelve years more it
had doubled again; at the end of the next twenty years
it had again doubled.

Production of Cotton.

Years.	Bales.	Years.	Bales.
1820-21 . .	430,000	1853-54 . .	2,950,027
1826-27 . .	957,281	1854-55 . .	3,118,339
1837-38 . .	1,301,497	1855-56 . .	3,527,845
1839-40 . .	2,177,835	1856-57 . .	3,000,000
1850-51 . .	2,755,257	1859-60 . .	4,675,770
1852-53 . .	3,262,882		

But, enormous as was this production, the consumption
was actually outstripping it. The Gulf States had be-
come the cotton-garden of the world. In the opinion of
persons well informed on the subject, a crop of six mil-
lions of bales would be required in 1866-67.

Power of the cotton
interest.

The power of the cotton interest is perhaps best illus-
trated by the value of the staple exported.
The following table presents such values (ap-
proximate) for periods of five years.

Years.	Value.	Years.	Value.
1801-5 . .	\$39,000,000	1831-35 . .	\$207,514,982
1806-10 . .	47,000,000	1836-40 . .	321,290,927
1811-15 . .	33,000,000	1841-45 . .	256,846,035
1816-20 . .	120,000,000	1846-50 . .	296,563,166
1821-25 . .	128,421,812	1850-55 . .	491,477,517
1826-30 . .	133,122,182		

Cotton does not exert upon the soil producing it so serious a deterioration as is the case with tobacco. Moreover, the cotton countries were intrinsically more fertile than the tobacco ones. So far, therefore, as the soil was concerned, there was no impossibility of meeting the great demand. But very different was it in regard to the other element of its production—labor.

The indigenous production of slaves could not be expected to give an increase of as much as thirty per cent. in the course of ten years.

Its increasing production requires increased labor.

The prospective demand for cotton in the same period would increase one hundred per cent. It was therefore obvious that the slave system, continuing without change, would be altogether inadequate to the requirements of the case. Under these circumstances two events must ensue: 1st. A redistribution of the slave population—its translation from points where the value of its labor was less to those in which that value was at a maximum; and, 2d. An attempt to accomplish the restoration of the African slave-trade.

As regards the first of these—redistribution of the slave population—it had already begun to take effect. The colder grain-growing states were being drained of their negroes. A competition was arising between the two great staples, tobacco and cotton. It was merely a question which of them, all things considered, would prove to be the more profitable. But the issue could not be mistaken when it was seen that in the ten years ending in 1850, the slave population of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina had only increased from two to six per cent., while in the Gulf States it had increased from thirty-five to fifty-eight per cent.

A drain of slaves from the upper Slave States ensues.

Rice and tobacco can not compete with cotton in the slave market.

The relative progression of three chief products, cotton, tobacco, rice, is seen in the following statement of their export to England:

Year.	Cotton.	Tobacco.	Rice.
1803 . . .	\$ 7,800,000	\$6,209,000	\$2,455,000
1851 . . .	112,315,317	9,219,000	2,171,000

That is, the increase in the export of cotton had vastly outstripped that of the other products. Its value had risen nearly fifteen fold. There was no important increase for rice; that for tobacco was comparatively small.

Hence admitting, in addition, a liberal domestic consumption, slave labor had been found less profitable in the production of rice and tobacco than in the production of cotton. The necessary incident was a translation of the slaves to the Cotton States, the increased production of cotton indicating increased slave population.

The number of slaves in the seven chief Cotton States increased during nearly the same period (1800 to 1850) not less than 773 per cent. In the rest of the Slave States the increase was only from 64 to 68 per cent.

First-class cotton lands could yield from a bale to a bale and a quarter per acre; uplands from half to three quarters of a bale; the Sea Island lands produced only half a bale, but this was three or four times the value of other cotton. A negro could make ten bales a year. It was estimated that, since at 25 cents a pound a bale (400 lbs.) would be worth \$100, if a negro made only six bales a year, there would be a profit on his labor of \$300.

With such an inadequate supply and such an imperative demand for negro labor, it is not surprising that interested persons looked without horror on the restoration of the African slave-trade.

We have now to consider what were the inciting causes

of this increase in the cotton yield, and of

this imperative demand for more slave la-

bor.

Cause of the in-
creasing demand
for cotton.

Some English artisans, who, about the middle of the last century, were obtaining a scanty living by spinning, weaving, and other such occupations, turned their inventive talent to the improvement of their art. Paul and Wyatt introduced the operation of spinning by rollers; Highs, or Hargreaves, invented the jenny, by which a great many threads could be spun as easily as one. Paul devised the rotating carding-engine; Crompton the mule; Arkwright the water-frame, which produced any number of threads of any degree of fineness and hardness. These ingenious machines constituted a very great improvement on the spindle and distaff of ancient times, and on the spinning-wheel, originally brought from Asia, or perhaps reinvented in Europe. At length one spinner was able to accomplish as much work as one hundred could have formerly done.

While the art of producing threads was undergoing this singular improvement, Cartwright, a clergyman, invented, in 1785, the power-loom, intended to supersede the operation of weaving by hand, and to make the production of textile fabrics altogether the result of machinery. After some modifications, that loom successfully accomplished the object for which it was devised.

As these inventions succeeded, they necessarily led to a demand for motive power. In the first little cotton factory, the germ of that embodiment of modern industry, the cotton-mill, a water-wheel was employed to give movement to the machinery. The establishment was, therefore, necessarily placed near a stream, where a sufficient fall could be obtained.

The invention of the steam-engine by Watt, which was the consequence of the new and correct views of the nature of vapors that had been established by Dr. Black, supplied, in due time, the required

English improvements in spinning and weaving machines.

Invention of the steam-engine.

motive power, and by degrees the water-wheel went almost out of use. Textile manufacture needed now but one thing more to become of signal importance—it needed a more abundant supply of raw material. Though far less perfect than in our times, so completely did spinning and weaving machinery answer its purpose, that England now seriously contemplated her ability to furnish clothing for the world. Cotton, the fibre chiefly concerned in these improvements, was obtained in limited quantities from various countries; but, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, not a single pound was exported from the United States. What was grown here was for domestic consumption. Every good housewife had her spinning-wheel, every plantation its hand-loom.

The difficulty of supplying cotton fibre in quantity sufficient to meet the demands of the new machinery was due to the imperfect means in use for separating the cotton from its seeds—a tedious operation, for the picking was done by hand.

Eli Whitney, a native of Massachusetts, by his invention of the cotton-gin in 1793, removed that difficulty. The fibre could be separated from the seeds with rapidity and at a trifling cost.

There was nothing now to prevent an extraordinary development in the English manufactures. A very few years showed what the result would be. In 1790 no cotton was exported from the United States. Whitney's gin was introduced in 1793. The next year about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million of pounds were exported; in 1795, about $5\frac{1}{4}$ millions; in 1860, the quantity had reached 2000 millions of pounds.

The political effect of this mechanical invention, which thus proved to be the completion of all the previous English inventions, being absolutely necessary to give them efficacy, was at

Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin.

It provides a supply of raw material.

Effect of these inventions on the distribution of population in England.

once seen in its accomplishing a great increase and a redistribution of population in England. The manufacturing towns grew rapidly. A class of society obtaining its wealth from the new sources overbalanced the old rich landed proprietors.

In the United States the effects were still more important. Cotton could be grown through all the Southern Atlantic and the Gulf States. It was more profitable than any other crop—but it was raised by slaves.

Whatever might have been the general expectation respecting the impending extinction of slavery, They invigorate the slave power in America, it was evident that at the commencement of this century the conditions had altogether changed. A powerful interest had come into unforeseen existence both in Europe and America which depended on perpetuating that mode of labor. Moreover, before long it was apparent that, partly because of the adaptation of their climate to the growth of the plant, partly because of the excellence of the product, and partly owing to the increasing facilities for interior transportation, the cotton-growing states of America would have a monopoly in the supply of this staple.

But, though mechanical invention had reinvigorated the slave power by bestowing on it the cotton-gin, it had likewise strengthened unionism by another inestimable gift—the steam-boat. And are followed by increased facilities for transportation. At the very time that the African slave-trade was prohibited, Fulton was making his successful experiment of the navigation of the Hudson River by steam. This improvement in inland navigation rendered available, in a manner never before contemplated, the river and lake system of the continent; it gave an instantaneous value to the policy of Jefferson, by bringing into effectual use the Mississippi and its tributaries; it crowded with population the shores of the lakes; it threw the whole conti-

Political effect of
the invention of the
steam-boat.

ment open to commerce, it strengthened the central power at Washington by diminishing space, and while it extended geographically the domain of the republic, it condensed it politically. It bound all parts of the Union more firmly together.

The locomotion of the Indians, the former occupants of the continent, may be said to have been altogether pedestrian. The canoe could only be taken advantage of by riparian tribes. It was imperfect locomotion which made the American nations so inferior in their civilization to the Asiatic, and eventually led to their destruction. Already we have remarked that, had but one of the numerous varieties of horse or camel that once abounded in the country escaped extinction, America would have had a very different history. It is not improbable that she would have preceded Europe in civilization.

The colonists who settled on the Atlantic border brought with them the horse. Through its aid distances were shortened, and transporting power greatly increased. But, had no better means of locomotion been introduced, the republic would with difficulty have extended beyond the Alleghanies; its feeble states would hardly have had cohesion enough to cling to their centre of attraction at Washington.

At a most opportune moment, therefore, came the invention of the steam-boat. Its political effect was the strengthening of unionism in an unexpected and unparalleled manner. Pedestrian locomotion could accomplish at the best not more than four miles an hour; the horse hardly doubled that speed; but the steam-boat fully quadrupled it, and likewise indefinitely increased the facility of transport of freight. But in thirty years more the next generation saw yet another wonderful advance—the railroad doubled the average speed again. It had now attained to thirty miles

Importance of rapid
communication
to a centralized
power.

an hour; if needful, sixty could be reached. A fatiguing day's journey had diminished into an insignificant trip of a few minutes. The consequence of all this was, that political power was rapidly concentrating at Washington.

The military roads of Rome lay at the basis of her imperial power: a remote, outlying force was in swift communication with the capital, and accordingly the first thing the legions did in a conquered country was to build substantial bridges and roads. With sedulous activity they kept them in thorough repair. But the railway, as a military appliance, far exceeds in value the ordinary road. On subsequent pages, in the relation of army movements, its important advantages will be seen.

The locomotive engine aids in neutralizing climate influences by promoting travel, of which it so conspicuously increases the speed and lessens the expense. It improves the health of towns by carrying urban populations into the country; it diminishes the death-rate by permitting families of children to be brought up in a fresh, uncontaminated atmosphere; it equalizes the business seasons of trade, being independent of the heat of summer and the ice of winter; it lessens our ideas of distance, and increases our estimates of the value of time.

In the concentration of political power the electric telegraph likewise signally assists. Along its suspended iron wires thought noiselessly passes at the rate of 18,000 miles in a second—noiselessly, for the moaning sound emitted when a gentle wind is blowing does not belong to the telegraph, but corresponds to the notes of the Æolian harp. Ideas that have come under the ocean, or across the continent, or from innumerable points of the country, are fitting about from station to station. There is no danger that the extremities of

the republic will ever be out of reach of the controlling power at its centre while the government at Washington can transmit orders to its officers at San Francisco, at New Orleans, or at the Lakes, in the course of a few moments.

These inventions tend to produce political centralization.

The foot-passenger, the canoe, the sail, the horse, the canal, the steam-boat, the locomotive, the telegraph, mark out the degrees of human motion. They also mark out the concentration of civilized power.

In the Constitution it had been agreed that three fifths of the slaves should be accounted as federal numbers in the apportionment of federal representation. A political advantage was thus given to slave labor. This closed the eyes of the South to all other means of solving its industrial difficulties. Accordingly, it never looked for relief except in the increase of its slave force.

Political reasons cause the South to decline mechanical inventions.

In this it forgot the incidents that had brought it into its extraordinary position. It forgot the mechanical causes that lay at the bottom of the great industrial revolution in England — spinning machinery, the power-loom, the steam-engine. It also forgot what had been the influence of one single mechanical invention—Whitney's gin—on its own fortunes.

To the cotton-planter two courses were open. He might increase his manual force, or he might resort to machinery. Nothing was impossible to the latter had inventive talent been stimulated and rewarded. Mechanical agriculture doubtless has its difficulties, but they are not insurmountable. The existing slave force of the South might have had its economical value inconceivably increased by resorting to proper machinery.

In this the South followed the example of antiquity, for all the great empires of old preferred slave labor, and never attempted to improve machinery. Agricultural

implements remained untouched for thousands of years. In Europe the rural population was impenetrable to knowledge and hated improvement; it would tolerate no change in that venerable implement, the wooden plow. There was the same want of enterprise as respects mechanical machinery. The saw-mill was not introduced until a little time previously to Henry VII.: that event was actually an epoch in civilized life. It is affirmed that by it lumber was cheapened to one twentieth of its previous cost. The immediate consequence was the improvement of dwellings. Wooden floors ministered to human cleanliness, diminished disease and human affliction, and lengthened human life. The glazing of windows had a similar effect.

In a servile community mechanical invention will always be held in low esteem. In his forced daily toil, what does it signify to the slave whether the implement in his hand be an improved one or not? The thing that concerns him is the passing away of the weary hours: he has no interest in the fruit of his labor. And as to the master, it required no deep political penetration for him to perceive that the introduction of machinery must in the end result in the emancipation of the slave. Machinery and slavery are incompatible—the slave is displaced by the machine.

In the Southern States political reasons thus discouraged the introduction of machinery. Under the Constitution an increased negro force had a political value, machinery had none. The cotton interest was therefore persuaded by those who were in a position to guide its movements, that its prosperity could be secured only through increased manual labor; and though with so many wonderful examples before it of the successful application of machinery in the most unpromising cases, it persisted in affirming that in

They give it no political advantage, but slaves do.

this instance it was chimerical, and not worthy of attention.

But those who are familiar with what machinery is capable of accomplishing, who have witnessed the surprising results that have been attained by the ingenuity of man, look forward without any misgivings to the time when not alone the cultivation of cotton, but agricultural operations of all kinds, will be conducted by its use. It is surely as likely that engines may plow and sow, hoe and gather, even on the site of a last year's forest, as that they should compute mathematical tables for the use of astronomers more correctly than the most expert calculators can do. Yet that they have accomplished.

In this it sacrificed its true interest, for machinery could have indefinitely increased its power.

When the Liverpool and Manchester railway was built, a prize of \$2500 occasioned the invention of Stevenson's locomotive. The by-standers could hardly believe their eyes when they saw it running at the rate of thirty miles an hour. A reward of \$100,000, offered by the English Parliament for finding the longitude at sea, led to the invention and perfection of Harrison's chronometer, and the desired object was accomplished.

What machinery has elsewhere accomplished.

But in the Free States, notwithstanding an influx of immigrants, there was a continual demand for labor. It was manifested by the high rate of wages. Ingenuity was, however, here stimulated, and inventive talent gathered an abundant reward. In a manner unparalleled in the history of any other people, attention was given to the construction of labor-saving machinery. It was the machinery of the North that told with such fearful effect upon her antagonist in the civil war, and strangled the slave power by maintaining a blockade along three thousand miles of coast.

I.—U

In 1805 the number of slaves was about one million. The African trade was to cease in 1808, a measure that had met with the concurrence of the South, principally perhaps from moral considerations. It is true that Virginia was accused of having given it her support from a belief that her wants in that respect were fully supplied, and that any increase in the number of negroes would only lessen the value of those in her possession. In the Northern States, slavery, though lingering nominally here and there, was substantially extinct. It had ceased to be of any political consideration.

Development of
the slave power
between 1805
and 1835.

At the close of the second generation, in 1835, the number of slaves had become about $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions. This increase was internal or spontaneous; that is, no part of it after 1808 was due to immigration. In this respect the black laboring population of the South differed from the white laboring population of the North, for the latter was constantly fed by new foreign supplies.

Occasionally, in foreign countries, a rapid increase of population has been witnessed. Thus the population of England remained for centuries in a stationary condition; in fact, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of William and Mary it had not tripled itself. But as soon as the progress of the industrial arts created a demand for more men, there was a great increase. The same event had occurred on the Continent of Europe in the early days of the feudal system, when the value of an estate came to depend on the number of retainers it could furnish.

The increase of the slave population of the South was a phenomenon of a similar kind. There was a demand for labor-power. Considerations, not of an economical, but of a political nature, led to the discouragement of machinery, and to an increase in the number of slaves.

Cause of that de-
velopment.

Two things were therefore necessary to the development of the cotton culture, the laborer and the land. As respects the former, it had become too late to inquire into the expediency of the prohibition of the African trade; that was an irreversible political fact. So great had been the barbarities practiced while that trade was permitted, that the civilized world had set its face against the system. Propositions for conducting the importation of Africans on principles of humanity, of making the "Middle Passage" as free from objection as the voyage of emigrants from Europe, were listened to with impatience, and put aside without ceremony.

Had not the civil war occurred, so urgent was the demand of the cotton planters for increased labor-power, so remunerative their pursuit, so high the price that a negro was worth in the Gulf States, that the South must have necessarily undergone a political disintegration. Nothing could have prevented the draining of the Border States of their slaves. In view of the opinions of the civilized world respecting the African trade, there was no probability that it could ever be re-opened, not much could be done by the importation of Chinese or coolie labor from Asia, and apparently the inevitable result was the bringing down of the free-line toward the Gulf.

As regards the second element of the cotton cultivation—land—the requirement was much less urgent. The great crops that were eventually (1860) raised did not occupy much more than 10,800 square miles—a moderate proportion of the entire available territory, which was estimated at about 666,000 square miles. But as there was a political consideration, the $\frac{2}{3}$ ths slave provision, which led to the exclusion of machinery and a preference for manual labor, so

Impracticability of renewing the African slave-trade.

The free-line was gradually advancing toward the Gulf.

A demand for more land arises.

another political consideration led to a craving for territory. The balance of power in the United States Senate must be maintained against the North by the incessant creation of new slaveholding states. Doubtless an enlightened policy, looking to the future, approved of that course, for the deterioration of the land caused by the growing of cotton was, under the circumstances, irreparable. Artificial means, by manures or amendments, were out of the question, and the whole operation implied a present destruction of fertility—a killing of the soil. Through natural causes, in the slow lapse of years, a partial restoration of the virgin qualities of the soil might occur, but that was, at the best, an affair of time, and therefore unavailing.

Political foresight thus agreed with political expediency in connecting the slave system with territorial expansion. During the epoch of which we are now speaking, that longing was twice gratified in the acquisition (1803) of the French possessions known as Louisiana by Jefferson, and the Spanish Territory of Florida (1819) by Monroe. The subsequent annexation of Texas was occasioned by the same policy.

There is no better indication of the distribution of political power than the distribution of political patronage. Guided by that principle, it may be perceived that the South, as stated on page 23, was, during this epoch, the dominant power in the republic. The leading position acquired by Virginia during the Revolution was still retained by her. With the exception of Mr. Adams, the immediate successor of Washington, all the Presidents, until 1825, were from the South—nay, more, without exception, they were all Virginians. Washington was a Virginian, and had been re-elected; Jefferson was a Virginian, and had been

It is strengthened
by political consid-
erations.

Southern influ-
ences preponderate
in the republic,

re-elected; it was the same with Madison, and the same again with Monroe. Up to that time the only Northern President had been Mr. Adams, elected because, perhaps, the fervor of the revolutionary times had not yet died out, but not re-elected.

If we look a little farther, no election of a successor to Mr. Monroe having been made, Mr. John Quincy Adams was chosen by the House of Representatives, but his term was not renewed upon its expiration. General Jackson, a Carolinian, succeeded him, and he was re-elected.

During a period of forty-eight years (1789–1837), the Slave States had held the reins of government for forty years, the Free States only eight. It followed, of course, that in the distribution of patronage, the former had had much more than their just share. Between the parties, which, with various fortune, divided the suffrages of the North, the slave influence held the balance of power, and,

And are maintained by the alliance of the slave power with the Democratic party.

affiliating uniformly with the Democratic party, its subservient ally, it maintained its hold on the government. With that party

it shared the profits of political victory, but remorselessly exacted a full equivalent in all things that touched the interests of slavery. With so much certainty did it count on these concessions, that, had not the civil war occurred, it would have required the restoration of the African trade. It actually did expect what, in a political sense, was still more extravagant—aid in achieving secession—an act self-stultifying, for it was necessarily suicidal. So thoroughly, however, was the

Concessions imperiously demanded by the slave power.

South habituated to look for subserviency in the Northern Democracy, that, when it found itself disappointed in that extraordinary

expectation, its anger knew no bounds. It poured forth bitter complaints and invectives. When the attempt at secession ended in disaster, it laid the blame on the treachery of its old ally.

On minor political points difference of opinion was permissible among the Southern population, but the moment questions arose affecting the interests of slavery, absolute uniformity was exacted. With not more tyrannical sternness and severity did papal Rome, in her most arbitrary days, compel implicit obedience. Subsequently to 1830, the philanthropical latitude that had been allowed in the early part of the century was no longer possible. The clergy themselves were not excepted. On slavery the whole South acted as one man.

This was the power, resolute, compact, unrelenting, which for so many years had dominated in the national councils, swaying the decisions of Congress, and appointing presidents. Apprehensive of its future, as, under such circumstances, such a power must be, it seized the sword as soon as it recognized plainly that it could no longer retain the sceptre in its grasp.

It revolts when it
finds it can no longer
rule.

SECTION IV.

THE ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH
ASSUMES THE CHARACTER OF A SOCIAL CONTEST.

CHAPTER XVII.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY IDEA.

The development of slavery in the South provoked resistance in the North. Massachusetts led the way in forming public opinion in the Free States. The narrative of her action respecting her own domestic slavery and the African slave-trade shows how rapidly anti-slavery ideas found favor with her. The abolition of slavery by England gave an impulse to abolition in America. The anti-slavery ideas of the Declaration of Independence, of the Confederation, and of the Constitution, were held in check by the alliance of the slave power and the Democratic party. The incessant attacks of the Abolitionists on the slave institution led to an exasperated retaliation on the part of the South.

It was the expectation of those who had taken a leading part in the Revolution, the Confederation, and the formation of the Union, that slavery would die out of itself. As to its immorality there was no difference of opinion—every where it was looked upon as an evil.

Expectation in the last century that slavery would spontaneously cease.

But, though such was the estimate in which the slave system was held, considered from the moral point of view, it must not be supposed but that it had strenuous defenders on grounds of personal interest and of state power. Its influence is perceived at the very organization of the Confederacy, in the exemption of slaves from taxation, and in the resistance of South Carolina to interciti-zenship among the states on account of its bearing upon slavery. At that early period South Carolina and Geor-

It is sustained by South Carolina and Georgia. gia were determined to uphold it. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were not unwilling to destroy it. Even in 1774 an abolition society was founded in Philadelphia. It was this which, a few years subsequently, urged Congress "to step to the very verge of its power" to remove the inconsistency of slavery from the American people, and to discourage every species of slave traffic.

South Carolina and Georgia not only regarded slavery, but also the African slave-trade, as absolutely essential to their prosperity. With so much determination did they urge these views in the discussions respecting the Constitution, that some of the Northern States were willing to give way to the demand rather than that the proposed union should fail—rather than "part with them."

The development of slavery provokes resistance. But as the development of the slave power went on, so co-ordinately was developed its great antagonist, the anti-slavery idea. Slavery becoming, as such a system must needs be, aggressive, provoked a fierce resistance. So intense, eventually, was the animosity, that it swallowed up all other matters of dispute, the free North and the slave South being pitted against each other in geographical parties. Of the latter it may be truly said that all legislation, both domestic and federal, had but a single object—the protection and advancement of the slave system. When the civil war broke out, the boundary between freedom and slavery was the boundary of the contending powers.

Condition of the slave question in the United States at the Revolution. It might be supposed, from the action of the first Continental Congress, that public opinion unan-
 imously condemned negro slavery. In the "association" prepared by it, and signed by the delegates of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, it was agreed, "We will neither import nor pur-

chase any slaves imported after the first day of December next, after which time we will discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it."

But that there was really no such unanimity we may gather from what Mr. Jefferson says respecting the striking out of the clause reprobating African slavery from the Declaration of Independence (see page 189). He expressly declares that South Carolina and Georgia wished to continue the slave-trade. And Mr. Adams, referring to the same document, observes: "I was delighted with its high tone and the flights of oratory with which it abounded, especially that concerning negro slavery, which, though I knew his Southern brethren would never suffer to pass in Congress, I certainly would never oppose." This was on the occasion of the meeting between Jefferson and Adams for considering the first draft of the Declaration.

Attitude of South Carolina and Georgia in these movements.

It illustrates the opposing sentiments of the times.

I have in this chapter to describe the progress of the anti-slavery idea. This will perhaps be most clearly done by recalling the circumstances under which domestic slavery and the African slave-trade, respectively, came to an end in Massachusetts. Then, turning to the United States, I may consider the gradual increase of force of the abolition sentiment in them. So far as Massachusetts is concerned, the points to be particularly brought into mind are instructively related in Moore's Notes on the History of Slavery in that state, previously referred to (page 184).

But though from the American point of view we may correctly consider Massachusetts as the focus of the anti-slavery power, and attribute her action, as we have done (page 24), partly to the influence of climate and (page 25)

partly to an awakened conscience, it must not be forgotten that during the period of time involved she, as well as all the Atlantic States, were in such a condition of intellectual dependence as to be powerfully influenced by European and especially by English opinion. Hence it was not possible but that the anti-slavery ideas of England should produce an energetic reflex action here, and, in a review of the American movement, that taking place contemporaneously in England can not be overlooked.

Not without reason do I turn to Massachusetts, for she has been the intellectual guide of the nation. If it be true, as Sallust says, that the glory of ancestors casts a light on posterity, serving to show what are the virtues and what the defects of successive generations, Massachusetts, loyal and noble, coming forth from the blood and smoke of the civil war, has no need to screen herself from the rays converging upon her from Puritan and Revolutionary times.

The anti-slavery movement did not fairly begin till 1766, when measures were taken by several of the Massachusetts towns, among others by Boston, for domestic abolition. This was by instructing their representatives to obtain a law for putting an end to that unchristian and impolitic practice, the making slaves of the human species. "And for the total abolishing of slavery among us, that you move for a law to prohibit the importation and purchasing of slaves for the future." In 1767 a bill was accordingly brought in to prohibit slavery and the slave-trade, but it did not pass. The attempt was renewed in 1771, but failed for want of the governor's approval. Again it was renewed in 1773, under instructions from several of the towns, the design being either to impose a prohibitory impost duty, or to declare the imported slave free as soon as he was in

Narrative of anti-slavery operations in Massachusetts.

the jurisdiction. Once more it was tried in 1774, and again failed to obtain the governor's approval. The controversy really was between the American colonists on the one side and the British governors on the other; there therefore entered into it something more than abstract philanthropy. The policy of England at this time was for the promotion of slavery. By the Treaty of Utrecht she had obtained the exclusive right for thirty years of selling African slaves to the Spanish West Indies and the coast of America. The negro trade on the coast of Africa was regarded as the chief and fundamental support of the British colonies and plantations. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that these governors "should frown upon legislation in the colonies so utterly inconsistent with the interests of British commerce, or that the modest efforts of Massachusetts in 1774 should be met by Hutchinson and Gage with the same spirit which, in 1775, dictated the reply of the Earl of Dartmouth to the earnest remonstrance of the agent of Jamaica against the policy of the government. 'We can not allow the colonies to check or discourage in any manner a traffic so beneficial to the nation.'"

Though thwarted thus in Massachusetts, anti-slavery opinions were steadily gaining ground. They gathered force from the opposition of the British governors. As just mentioned, the Continental Association, in 1774, unanimously made provision for the discontinuance of the slave-trade. The Continental Congress, 1776, resolved that no slave should be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies. The conscience of Massachusetts was touched. The Committee of Safety in 1775 passed a resolution "that it is the opinion of this committee, as the contest now between Great Britain and the colonies respects the liberties and privileges of the latter, which the colonies are determined

Action of Massachusetts during the Revolutionary War.

to maintain, that the admission of any persons into the army now raising, but only such as are freemen, will be inconsistent with the principles that are to be supported, and reflect dishonor on this colony, and that no slaves be admitted into this army upon any consideration whatever."

It so happened that shortly afterward (1776) two negro men, taken prisoners at sea, were advertised to be sold by public auction at Salem. Indignation and sympathy were aroused. A resolution was offered in the Massachusetts House of Representatives to the effect that "the selling and enslaving of the human species is a direct violation of the natural rights, alike vested in all men by their Creator, and utterly inconsistent with the avowed principles on which this and the other United States have carried their struggle for liberty even to the last appeal, and that therefore all persons connected with the said negroes be, and they are hereby forbidden to sell them," etc. It is to be remarked that the resolution eventually passed omitted the foregoing general declaration of anti-slavery principles, and simply forbade the sale of the two men. Abolition in Massachusetts was still only in an incipient state.

Doubtless the spirit of the insurgent colonists writhed under the taunts and contemptuous jeers of the Tory Loyalists: "Negro slaves in Boston! It can not be! It is nevertheless very true; for, though the Bostonians have grounded their rebellions on the 'immutable laws of Nature,' and have resolved, in their town-meetings, that 'it is the first principle in civil society, founded in Nature and reason, that no law of society can be binding on any individual without his consent, given by himself in person or by his representative, of his own free election, yet, notwithstanding the immutable laws of Nature, and this public resolution of their own in their town-meetings,

they actually have in town two thousand negro slaves, who, neither by themselves in person, nor by representatives of their own free election, ever gave consent to their present state of bondage." The effect of these sarcasms is seen in a preamble to a bill before the Massachusetts Legislature in 1777 for preventing the practice of holding persons in slavery. It recites: "Whereas the practice of holding Africans, and the children born of them, or any other person, in slavery is unjustifiable in a civil government at a time when they are asserting their natural freedom," etc. But public opinion came very slowly to the correct stand-point. In the Constitution proposed for Massachusetts in 1778, the fifth article read, "Every male inhabitant of any town in this state, being free and twenty-one years of age, excepting negroes, Indians, and mulattoes, shall be entitled to vote for a representative," etc. The chaplain of both houses of the Legislature commented severely on this article. An idea may be formed of the spirit of the attack from such a passage as the following: "The complexion of that fifth article is blacker than that of any African, and, if not altered, will be an everlasting reproach upon the present inhabitants." For this he was summarily dismissed from his chaplaincy.

That Constitution was, however, rejected. It was not until the adoption of the state Constitution of 1780 that slavery could be regarded as abolished in Massachusetts. The first Article of this Constitution being,

The Massachusetts
Constitution of
1780.

"Article I. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and inalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness."

The Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt gives the following account of the termination of slavery in Massachusetts: "In 1781, some negroes, prompted by private suggestion, maintained that they were not slaves. Their counsel pleaded, 1°. That no antecedent law had established slavery, and that the laws which seemed to suppose it were the offspring of error in the legislators, who had no authority to enact them; 2°. That such laws, even if they had existed, were annulled by the new Constitution. They gained their cause under both aspects, and the solution of this first question that was brought forward set the negroes entirely at liberty, and, at the same time, precluded their pretended owners from all claim to indemnification, since they were proved to have possessed and held them in slavery without any right. As there were only a few slaves in Massachusetts, the decision passed without opposition, and banished all farther idea of slavery."

It indirectly abolishes slavery in that state.

In 1782 a petition was presented to the House of Representatives by Nathaniel Jennison, reciting that "he was deprived of ten negro servants by a judgment of the Supreme Judicial Court on the following clause of the Constitution, that 'all men are born free and equal.'" After setting forth his grievances, he quaintly adds, "What the true meaning of said clause in the Constitution is your memorialist will not undertake to say, but it appears to him that the operation thereof, in the manner aforementioned, is very different from what the people apprehended at the time the same was established." Jennison evidently was of opinion that slavery had been abolished in Massachusetts without the knowledge of the people, who were only now opening their eyes to the fact.

In truth, slavery was imperceptibly extinguished in Massachusetts. A few years before his death, Mr. Webster was unable to determine when and in what manner

The extinction of slavery is imperceptible.

it had ceased to exist. In 1836 Chief Justice Shaw remarked, "How or by what act particularly slavery was abolished in Massachusetts, whether by the adoption of the opinion in Somerset's case, as a declaration and modification of the common law, or by the Declaration of Independence, or by the Constitution of 1780, it is not now very easy to determine; and it is rather a matter of curiosity than utility, it being agreed on all hands that, if not abolished before, it was so by the Declaration of Rights."

I may here make the following extract from the last paragraph of Moore's Notes: "The reader can not fail to notice the strong resemblance in the mode of the extinction of slavery in Massachusetts and that of villenage in England. Of the latter Lord Mansfield said in 1785 that 'villains in gross may, in point of law, subsist at this day, but the change of manners and customs has effectually abolished them in point of fact.' If the parallel may be continued, it could be said with equal justice that slavery, having never been formally prohibited by legislation in Massachusetts, continued 'to subsist in point of law' until the year 1866, when the grand Constitutional amendment terminated it forever throughout the limits of the United States."

Resistance to the African slave-trade prior to the Revolution.

While internal state slavery was thus imperceptibly brought to its termination in Massachusetts, the foreign slave-trade was more abruptly closed. There had never been wanting bitter opponents to it from the time when the early apostle, John Eliot, declared "to sell souls for money seemeth to me a dangerous merchandise." He had written to Boyle, the philosopher, in 1683, to obtain his intervention in behalf of some Indians who had been sold from New England to Tangier. Judge Sewall, who had tried to pre-

vent Indians and negroes being rated with horses and hogs, but could not prevail, published a tract in 1700, entitled "The Selling of Joseph," to point out the atrocities of the slave-trade, and quoting with emphasis Exodus xxi., 16, God hath said, "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death." He states the arguments of the advocates of the trade. They are the same that continued to be used to the middle of the nineteenth century. "1st. Arguments in defense of that traffic. Blackamores are the posterity of Cham, and therefore are under the curse of slavery. 2d. the niggers are brought out of a pagan country into places where the Gospel is preached. 3d. The Africans have wars with one another; our ships bring lawful captives taken in those wars. 4th. Abraham had servants bought with his money and born in his house."

Thus sustained, the Guinea, or slave-trade, long continued in Massachusetts. We have, in Felt's The slave-trade in Salem. "Salem," the instructions of a mercantile firm to the captain of one of their slave-ships in 1785, directing him to make the best of his way to the coast of Africa, and invest his cargo in slaves. It shows him how to proceed in a critical inspection before paying for them. It instructs him what to do for the preservation of the health of his cargo, since on that the profits of the voyage depend, sagaciously observing that all other risks but the death of the slaves the underwriters are accountable for. He must beware of the factors on the coast lest they cheat him, for, like the Israelites of old, they do whatever is right in their own eyes. His compensation, among other things, is to be four slaves out of every hundred, and four at the place of sale. His employers piously conclude by commending him to the care of "the Almighty Disposer of all events."

The prohibition of the slave-trade was at last effected

Prohibition of the trade by the Massachusetts Legislature.

in Massachusetts in 1788. A law was enacted that no citizen of the Commonwealth, or other person residing in the same, shall import, transport, buy or sell, any of the inhabitants of Africa as slaves or servants for a term of years, on penalty of fifty pounds for every person so misused, and two hundred pounds for every vessel fitted out or employed in the traffic. All insurance on such vessels to be void. That there were Massachusetts slave-ships at that time at sea is clear, for the act expressly exempts them.

Dispute between Massachusetts and South Carolina on the slave question during the Revolutionary War.

It is worthy of remark that in 1779 some South Carolina negroes, who happened to be recaptured by a Massachusetts ship, gave rise to a controversy between the two states. The Legislature had voted them to be returned, but the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court had decided against their being given up. The Governor of South Carolina comments with much bitterness on the circumstances, remarking that "it discloses a specimen of Puritanism I should not have expected from gentlemen of my profession." On many occasions the temper of the South was carefully considered. Thus, in the debates that took place in 1779 in the Convention, it was affirmed, "By erasing this clause out of our Constitution we shall greatly offend and alarm the Southern States." Jennison, above referred to, in his memorial, argues that it could never have been the intention of the framers of the Massachusetts Constitution to offend the Southern States in so capital a point with them, and thereby endanger the Union.

Anti-slavery ideas are not of Puritan origin.

The development of anti-slavery ideas in Massachusetts thus presents a very instructive history. Those ideas were not, as is often affirmed, the offspring of Puritanism; on the contrary, they forced their way in spite of it. The New England

Puritan saw nothing wrong in the exportation of Indian prisoners of war, the buying of Africans, the retention in slavery of American-born children of color. A man of texts, he could wrest portions of Scripture to his justification in this, as also in the burning of witches and the hanging of Quakers. He never rose to the conception that his conduct should be guided by the spirit of benevolence of the whole Bible, not by the letter of isolated or fragmentary passages. There is a period in the life of a nation when it is ashamed of the opinions handed down to it. That period had been reached in Massachusetts. It magnified its Puritan ancestors, but it declined to follow their precepts. / In history we see that one cycle of ideas succeeds another; some are going to their culmination, and some are in their wane, passing away never more to return.) A living government recognizes the true and rising ideas, and places itself at their head. On that principle Massachusetts acted.

In the progress of a new idea three things are concerned—the argument on which it is based, the Manner in which ideas force their way. medium through which it is seen, the interest of him who is considering it. In the case of slavery in Massachusetts, the interest in its behalf was never very important. At an early date it was ascertained that that form of labor was unprofitable, and the number of slaves was at the most insignificant. The long resistance to its suppression was due to the distorting and murky medium through which the argument destined at last to overthrow it was viewed. In New England, as in Great Britain and France, it was not by ecclesiastics, as perhaps might have been expected, that the truth was first clearly discerned. As the fog of Puritan fanaticism lifted from the air, first one and then another of the men of education and men of business caught a clear view, and thus it was not incorrectly said that slavery came to

its end by imperceptible degrees through "advancing public sentiment" and "the temper of the times."

We have seen that the Massachusetts Legislature, at quite a late period, refused to commit itself to the expression of anti-slavery sentiment, and that, in point of fact, it never acted efficiently in the matter. Deliverance for the slave was gained, not by the enactment, but by the interpretation of law. In this there was an illustration of the remark respecting the Romans, who were the first to discover that the power of interpreting the laws is often of more value than that of making them. Where there is any thing approaching a general or universal suffrage, Legislatures are unwilling to take the initiative in great reforms; they do not lead, but follow public sentiment.

The arguments in behalf of resistance to the mother country, and the arguments in behalf of slavery, when presented together, were manifestly incompatible. The African was serving in the Revolutionary armies, and hence might justly claim, as he did, a part of the benefit for which he was shedding his blood. His master's cause and his cause were alike. There can be no doubt that considerations of this kind exerted very great influence; and to this not a little feeling was added from the fact that the English governors, guided by the general principles of the royal policy, resisted all attempts at abolition on the part of the dissatisfied colonists.

The American Revolution implied a protest against African slavery.

Origin of Abolitionism in England. Lord Mansfield's Somerset decision.

In England, as in America, hostility to African slavery first decisively manifested itself among educated persons and statesmen. The slave-trade was regulated by act of Parliament so lately as 1788. It was through the agency of Granville Sharp, who may be regarded as the precursor of the Abolitionists, that Lord Mansfield's decision in

the Somerset case was obtained—that decision being to the effect that the master of a slave could not compel him to go out of the kingdom. Active abolition movements soon commenced among the English Quakers; they gathered strength under the leadership of Clarkson and Wilberforce. Attempts were repeatedly made from 1785 to 1807 to secure parliamentary action. It was not, however, until the latter year that they proved successful, and the slave-trade was abolished.

The slave-trade is abolished by Parliament.

That point gained, Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Buxton commenced an agitation against the existence of slavery in the colonies. The movement was powerfully aided by a pamphlet published by Elizabeth Heyrick, a Quaker lady, advocating immediate instead of gradual emancipation. At length, in 1833, the Abolitionists carried their point; the owners of slaves received as compensation twenty millions sterling from the national treasury, and on August 1st, 1834, the slaves were set free.

The Abolitionists attack slavery in the colonies,

And in 1834 succeed in their attempt.

France had preceded England in this great moral movement, but not with such noble equity. Her National Assembly in 1791 abolished slavery throughout the French dominions.

Geologists observe that extinct animals are never reintroduced and never reappear. They have passed away because they have become incompatible with the progress of Nature. So, likewise, a political institution that has failed to maintain itself against the progress of public intelligence must pass away, and can never again be restored.

In the United States, at the epoch of the Revolution, there were, as we have said, both in the North and South, conscientious convictions against the morality of African

slavery; in many instances they were strengthened by considerations having reference to the policy and actions of the English government. There was also an influential and rising party favoring the opposite views. The incidents connected with the celebrated passage struck out of Mr. Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence illustrate, in a significant manner, the position of things. He had written, referring to the king :

“Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms against us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people on whom he has obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.”

The paragraph expunged from the Declaration of Independence.

As mentioned (p. 189), Mr. Jefferson states that this clause was removed not only out of complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, but also as a concession to the feelings of “our Northern brethren.”

At this time it is probable that of three millions of people, inhabitants of the colonies, nearly half a million were slaves. The exact number and their distribution can not now be accurately determined. The census of 1790 furnishes the following table, which can be received, however, only as an approximation.

Number of slaves at the epoch of the Constitution.

<i>Distribution of Slaves in 1790.</i>			
NORTHERN STATES.		SOUTHERN STATES.	
New Hampshire . . .	158	Delaware	8,887
Vermont	17	Maryland	103,036
Rhode Island	952	Virginia	293,427
Connecticut	2,759	North Carolina . . .	100,572
Massachusetts	none.	South Carolina . . .	107,094
New York	21,324	Georgia	29,264
New Jersey	11,423	Kentucky	11,830
Pennsylvania	3,737	Tennessee	3,417
Total	40,370	Total	657,527

Mr. Jefferson's disapproval and distrust of slavery is again seen in his attempt to exclude it after the year 1800 from the Northwest Territory. The fifth article of the ordinance of 1784 was, however, stricken out; Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina voting against it, and North Carolina giving a divided vote. There were six states for it and three against it.

Action in the Continental Congress respecting slavery in the Northwest Territory.

In the ordinance passed for the government of that Territory three years subsequently is the following article :

“There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory otherwise than as a punishment of crime, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted.”

This is what is known as Dane's restriction, Mr. Dane, of Massachusetts, being chairman of the committee which reported it. A fugitive slave proviso was added to it, and in that form it received the unanimous vote of the states, every Southern and every Northern member voting for it.

There can be no doubt that a majority of the framers of the Constitution looked upon slavery as an evil to be abated. The various provisions in its favor eventually

Action during the formation of the Constitution respecting slavery.

in that document were not in it originally, but were grafted upon it as compromises. South Carolina and Georgia were the chief champions in its behalf. Profitable abuses are never quietly given up. Virginia, in which nearly half the existing slave population was to be found, desired the prohibition of the trade, because, as her rivals affirmed, her own necessities being satisfied, she considered that the intrinsic value of her slave property would diminish if the other states were permitted to continue importation.

The proposition originally submitted to the Convention by its committee of five, who were respectively from South Carolina, Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, was thus expressed:

“No tax shall be laid by Congress on the migration or importation of such persons as the several states shall think proper to admit, nor shall such migration or importation be prohibited.”

This proposition was subsequently modified by a special committee, consisting of one member from each state; it then read:

“The migration or importation of such persons as the several states now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited (by Congress) prior to the year 1800; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such migration or importation, at a rate not exceeding the average of the duties laid on imports.”

The provision finally inserted in the Constitution was,

“The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation not exceeding ten dollars.”

The slave-trade not to be abolished before 1808.

While thus it was agreed that the African slave-trade

should be brought to an end in 1808, the use of the word *slave* was carefully avoided, and the awakened conscience of the Convention, bearing in mind the fundamental article of the Declaration of Independence, satisfied itself with a circumlocutory phrase.

The scruples of the North were thus satisfied by the proposed stoppage of the trade at the end of twenty years, and, after the insertion of the fugitive slave clause, the wishes of even South Carolina were so completely met that she ratified the Constitution by a vote of 149 to 73. The sentiments of the different states very distinctly appear in the discussions which took place. Mr. Pinckney declared that South Carolina would never adopt the Constitution if it prohibited the slave-trade. Mr. Rutledge, of that state, affirmed that religion and humanity have nothing whatever to do with the question; that interest alone is the governing principle of nations. The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia declared that these states could not do without slaves. They considered that a stoppage of the trade was equivalent to an exclusion of those states from the Union: they declared that they had no intention of ceasing their importations in any short time. On the other hand, the Virginians desired to give the general government power to prevent the increase of slavery, and Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, avowed that it was better to let the Southern States import slaves, if they made that a *sine qua non*, than part with them.

North Carolina, immediately after her ratification of the Constitution, ceded what is now the State of Tennessee on condition that Congress should make no regulation tending to emancipate slaves in it. Georgia did the same as respects the cession of Alabama and Mississippi, and thus it became impossible to carry out Jefferson's prohibitive policy of 1784.

Condition imposed by North Carolina in the cession of Tennessee, and similar action of Georgia.

The New England Anti-slavery Society was founded in Boston in 1832. By this time the shifting sands of public opinion on the slavery question in Massachusetts had hardened into a rock. New York and other large cities soon after followed that example. This movement was apparently the offspring of the anti-slavery excitement simultaneously occurring in England. It was not confined to the Northern States, but was perceptible in the South. Even Virginia at that time contemplated emancipation without disfavor, and dreamed of colonization. Movements were made in her Legislature having the former object in view. The great interests of the state soon, however, outweighed all philanthropical considerations, and the entire South, quickly appreciating the social result, joined in a common opposition. An ill-timed intermeddling of agents from England added resentment to that opposition. Without difficulty the slaveholding population was persuaded that these were, in reality, the emissaries of a foreign government, which, having brought its West India colonies into a condition of great peril, was bent on reducing its neighbors to the same state.

Establishment of
the New England
Anti-slavery So-
ciety.

Anti-slavery inten-
tions in Virginia
are arrested.

But, though the tide of anti-slavery sentiment was thus arrested in the South, very different was it in the New England States. In them there were no great interests to oppose it. As had been the case in England, all the machinery for political agitation which in late times has been brought to perfection was set in play, and through the pulpit, the press, societies, lectures, and innumerable other agencies, an incessant attack was kept up. To such an extent was the Post-office burdened with anti-slavery newspapers, pamphlets, letters, engravings, that President Jackson, in his annual message (1835), was constrained to call the atten-

The New England
people commence
an anti-slavery agi-
tation.

tion of Congress to the subject. A bill was brought into the Senate for the correction of the evil, but it was negatived through the votes of the New England senators. Fanaticism at the North was met by fanaticism at the South; and while one party denounced slavery as "the sum of all villainies," the other lauded it as the greatest of social blessings, consecrated by antiquity, and authorized by the Bible.

Under such circumstances, it was not possible but that resistance should be made to the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, passed under the administration of Washington.

The Fugitive Slave Law is practically nullified.

The Supreme Court of the United States having decided (1842) that it was the business of the federal, and not of the state magistrates, to carry that law into effect, an agitation, intended to nullify it practically, was commenced. Several of the Legislatures prohibited their magistrates from executing it, the use of the jails for the safe-keeping of fugitives was denied, personal-liberty bills were passed, and the act became practically a dead letter. The small

The Southern politicians take advantage of these events to inflame the people.

body of dissatisfied or disappointed politicians in the South, who had for several years past desired a rupture of the Union, took advantage of these events to promote their schemes, and in this they were very powerfully aided by the agitation that shortly arose (1846) respecting the Wilmot Proviso, the intention of which was to prevent the spread of slavery in the Territories. The quarrel was, however, for a time composed by the adoption of Mr. Clay's compromise measures in 1850, but only to break out again with increased violence four years subsequently, on the occasion of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

The Missouri Compromise, accepted in 1820 as an arrangement between the free and the slave states, had

thus lasted for thirty-four years. Its repeal was occasioned by the movements for establishing a territorial government in Nebraska. It was considered as being inconsistent with the doctrine of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states and territories established by the compromise of 1850. Induced by considerations of which events have shown the impolicy, every

Violent conflicts
arise in Congress.

Southern senator voted for the repeal. A violent and unequal conflict at once ensued between the free and the slave parties for the possession of Kansas. President Buchanan threw the weight of his official influence with the latter, and, in consequence, Congress became the arena of violent debates.

Anti-slavery operations in the United States assumed two forms—colonization and abolition.

The two forms of
anti-slavery opera-
tions.

African colonization originated with the Rev. Dr. Hopkins previously to the Revolution. His intention was, by the settlement of emancipated blacks on the Coast of Africa, to accomplish the suppression of the slave-trade. The intervention of the Revolution checked his movements, but he renewed them at the end of the war. Three missionaries were sent out by him, but the plan was carried out in an inadequate and desultory manner. It was not until 1815 that about

The colonization
scheme, its failure.

forty black emigrants went to Sierra Leone, and in the next year the Colonization Society was established. An abortive attempt was made four years subsequently at Sherbro Island, but in 1821 the more fortunate establishment of the settlement at Monrovia, destined eventually to become the Republic of Liberia, was commenced. In the course of forty years about nine thousand black emigrants were sent over. The colonization movement can not, however, be considered as having fulfilled the hopes of its advocates. It has

accomplished little for the suppression of the slave-trade, and had still less influence on American domestic slavery. It found favor in the South chiefly from the circumstance that it afforded a means for the removal of free negroes. Even that recommendation eventually failed when the states commenced the re-enslavement of that emancipated class.

Abolitionism has had a different result. The first The first Abolition Society. Abolition Society was founded, as has been mentioned, in Pennsylvania, in 1774. The president was Dr. Franklin. Other similar societies were afterwards established in New York, Rhode Island, Maryland, Connecticut, etc.

A great principle spreads most rapidly when it engages the enthusiasm of an individual man. Narrative of the proceedings of Benjamin Lundy, the Abolitionist. Abolition in America received an impetus from the devotion of a Quaker, Benjamin Lundy, who was born in New Jersey about 1789. In early life he migrated to Virginia, and, aroused by the enormities he witnessed in the slave system, dedicated his life to its destruction. A harness-maker or saddler by trade, he removed to Ohio, and there, in 1815, organized what he called a humane society; it was, in fact, an anti-slavery association. Its first meetings numbered only half a dozen persons, but shortly they increased to several hundreds. He next entered upon a newspaper enterprise; the title of the journal, "The Philanthropist," indicates its character. His journalism and his harness-making, as might have been anticipated, proved incompatible, and he lost all he possessed.

In 1821 he commenced a monthly publication, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation;" learned the trade of printing, and traveled about in various directions, propagating his views. These journeys he made for the most part on foot. Thus he walked about 400 miles in Ten-

nessee, 600 in Pennsylvania, and eventually transferred his "Genius" to Baltimore, carrying what he had in a knapsack on his back. In these migrations he delivered addresses wherever he could collect an audience, receiving encouragement from the Quakers as he passed along. He went in 1825 to Hayti, on an expedition connected with the removal of slaves, and on his return found his wife dead, and his children distributed among his friends. Undeterred by such calamities, which apparently only increased his zeal, he journeyed to New York and Boston, and even as far east as Maine, delivering addresses in the various large towns. Again he went back to Hayti on a colonization expedition, and on his return was nearly killed by a negro-trader in Baltimore, on whose avocation he had made some unpalatable remarks. Next he went through Texas into Mexico, on a scheme for founding a free-negro colony, supporting himself by harness-mending. He then removed his "Genius" from Baltimore to Washington, and thence again to Philadelphia, where at length it took the name of "The Pennsylvania Freeman." With a view of inquiring into the condition of fugitive negroes he went to Canada, and his property and papers having been burnt in a riot in Philadelphia, he eventually removed to Illinois, recommenced issuing his "Genius," and died in 1839.

While Lundy was in Boston he became acquainted with William Lloyd Garrison, who had already entered on a similar path, editing successively "The Free Press," "The National Philanthropist," and an anti-slavery newspaper, "The Journal of the Times." He joined Lundy in the publication of the "Genius" while it was at Baltimore, and, having given offense to some of the slave-traders of the city by his publications, was fined and committed to jail. He remained in prison about seven weeks, his fine then being

William Lloyd Garrison devotes himself to the cause of Abolition.

paid by Mr. Arthur Tappan, a merchant of New York. In 1830 he established "The Liberator" in Boston, conducting it on the principle of war to the knife with slavery. It played an able and conspicuous part in the Abolition cause.

The agitation carried on by these unwearied men soon began to produce results. The Governor of Georgia offered a reward of \$5000 for the arrest of Mr. Garrison, but that only served to bring him more prominently into notice, and to give friends to his cause. The mails to the Southern States were filled with anti-slavery publications.

Attempts were now made in the Slave States to repress the Abolition movement going on in the North, and to these some of the Northern governors lent their influence. Riots took place in New York, Philadelphia, and other towns; churches were attacked, and houses of Abolitionists and colored people destroyed. In New Hampshire, a preacher, who was engaged in prayer at an anti-slavery meeting, was arrested as "a common rioter and brawler." In Boston itself, a mob, described as "most respectable," seized Mr. Garrison, dragged him through the streets with a rope round his body, and threatened to tar and feather him. The Southern newspapers raised a clamor for the instant death of every Abolitionist who could be caught. Let them, said the New Orleans papers, "expiate the crime of interfering with our domestic institutions by being burned at the stake." "Let an Abolitionist (one of the most eminent men in South Carolina declared) come within our borders, and, notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments of the earth, including the federal government, we will hang him." In Charleston

The searching of the mails, the roasting of a mulatto, and the murder of Lovejoy.

(1835) the mails were seized and searched. Whatever objectionable matter they contained was burnt; the Postmaster General de-

claring that though he could not sanction, he would not condemn that step. At Alton, in Illinois, Elijah P. Lovejoy, the editor of an Abolition paper whose press had been repeatedly destroyed, was murdered by a mob (1837); he received five balls in his breast. Another mob in St. Louis roasted a mulatto to death over a slow fire.

In 1835 South Carolina passed a law whereby every colored person found on board any vessel entering her ports was to be seized and lodged in jail until the vessel should be cleared for departure, when he should be restored to his vessel on payment of the legal costs, and charges incurred for his subsistence.

South Carolina imprisons colored persons found on ships entering her ports.

This act chiefly affected colored sailors, cooks, etc., of Northern vessels; and, in view of the provision of the Federal Constitution, that "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states," Massachusetts resolved (1844) on testing its constitutionality. Her governor, therefore, di-

The mission of Samuel Hoar to test the legality of those proceedings.

rected Samuel Hoar, a venerable citizen, to proceed to Charleston and institute the necessary legal proceedings. The Legislature of South Carolina, happening to be in session at the time of his arrival, passed resolutions directing the governor to expel him from the state. He was accordingly constrained to leave the city.

The incidents mentioned in the preceding paragraphs are sufficient to show that at this epoch the contest between the Abolitionists on one side and the slaveholders on the other had become a mortal duel. Petitions began to pour into Congress for the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, an active and increasing traffic of that kind having gradually been established in Washington City. At first these petitions had been received

without special remark; but, as the Abolition excitement grew more intense in the North, they met with resistance from the members of the slaveholding states. Mr. Calhoun denounced some of them as gross, false, and malicious slanders on eleven of the states. He affirmed that Congress had no more jurisdiction over slavery in the District than it had in the State of South Carolina. Eventually it was resolved "that no petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any state or Territory, or the slave-trade between the states or Territories of the United States, in which it now exists, shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever."

Anti-slavery petitions to Congress refused to be received by that body.

While these unhappy controversies were in progress, fuel was added to the flame by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott, which, it was asserted, denied to the African race the ordinary rights of human beings. It moreover authorized the slaveholder to take his negroes into the Territories, and hold them there, notwithstanding all conflicting Congressional or territorial legislation, until the Territories should be prepared to assume the position of states. The Anti-slavery party, which had absorbed all the minor political organizations of the Free States, and had become consolidated as "the Republican party," at once denounced this decision. Even of the Democratic party a very important portion pursued the same course—the Douglas Democracy, whose principle was that of squatter sovereignty, or the right of the first settlers to determine the future of a state.

Exasperation arising in the Free States from the Dred Scott decision.

Rapid development of the Republican party.

In the South the secession leaders took advantage of this state of affairs to draw many slaveholders to their views. In the North the Republicans, daily increasing

in numbers and power, and tempted by the obvious division of their antagonist, the Democratic party, extended the sphere of their operations, and now aspired to the suppression of slavery in the states themselves.

Among the plans for accomplishing that result was one which depended on calling into action the "poor white," or non-slaveholding population of the South. A work, entitled "The Impending Crisis," was published by Mr. Helper, a North Carolinian. His principles were, "Never another vote for a slavery advocate; no co-operation with slavery in politics; no fellowship in religion; no affiliation in society; no patronage to pro-slavery merchants; no guestship in a slave-waiting hotel; no fee to a pro-slavery lawyer; none to a pro-slavery physician; no audience to a pro-slavery parson; no subscription to a pro-slavery newspaper; no hiring of a slave, but the utmost encouragement of free white labor." He adds, "We have determined to abolish slavery, and, so help us God, abolish it we will. If by any means you do succeed in your treasonable attempts to take the South out of the Union to-day, we will bring her back to-morrow. If she goes away with you, she will return without you."

Of this book, which was written with considerable ability, at the recommendation of sixty-eight Republican members of Congress, editions of many thousand copies were published, and disseminated in all directions. It excited the South to frenzy. The raid of John Brown, for the purpose of producing a slave-insurrection in Virginia, increased the angry feeling, especially when it was known that, upon his execution, he was accepted as a martyr all over the Free North.

Such was the condition of things at the meeting of the Charleston Convention (1860). The South had at last recognized that it could no longer depend on its old ally,

I.—Y

Publication of
Helper's Impend-
ing Crisis, and raid
of John Brown.

the Democratic party of the North, which had been dis-
organized in consequence of the illogical po-
sition which it had been attempting so long
to sustain. No human ingenuity could co-
ordinate the doctrine of the equal rights of man in the
North with the doctrine of human slavery in the South.
The day must inevitably come in which that great party
would have to accept the consequences of such a contra-
diction. The South saw this, and appreciated at once
that henceforth it must rely on itself. The decomposi-
tion of the Democracy, the triumph of the Republicans,
the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the secession of the Cot-
ton States were the results.

Disintegration of
the Democratic
party.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DIGRESSION ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE NORMAN INVASION IN PRODUCING THE EXTINCTION OF VILLEINAGE IN EN- GLAND. REFLECTIONS ON THE OVERTHROW OF SLAVERY BY ARGUMENT AND BY FORCE.

The extinction of slavery by persuasion or argument is hopeless when there are great interests upholding it, and the medium through which it is considered is perverted.

The social disasters and ruin attending its forcible extinction are illustrated by the events ensuing on the partial abolition which took place in England at the Norman Conquest.

IN national controversies, such as that between the South and the North, each party may conscientiously feel that it is right, and that its antagonist is blinded by interest or deluded by fanaticism. Both may forget that the majority of men do not reason at all, but simply acquiesce in what they hear, or simply reject it, insensibly biased by interest, education, or associations.

The South and the North had each its own point of view, and saw things through an atmosphere of its own. Each had its social maxims and social interests, and in these respects each differed from the other; nor was it possible for them to occupy the same point of view, and therefore not possible to have a sameness of opinion. The Northern States could not adopt the mode of thought of the slaveholder, nor appreciate the bias of his imagination. The Southern States could see nothing except through the glass of slavery. In this they resembled the daughters of Phorcus, who had but one eye among them all, and used it one after another in common.

Acted upon by the climate influences of the zone in

Difference in the
views of the North
and South.

which they live, the population of the South were fast losing the capability of vividly appreciating European modes of thought. Their higher classes constituted a sub-tropical aristocracy, resembling that existing among the people of the southern verge of the Mediterranean, and the historic nations of Asia (page 114). They had already attained to such a point that they could no longer perceive the immorality of slavery, and were rapidly becoming more and more unable to understand the Teutonism of the North.

It has been already remarked that in the propagation of an opinion three things are concerned:
Three conditions in the propagation of an idea. 1st. The argument on which the opinion rests;
 2d. The medium or intellectual atmosphere through which it is contemplated; 3d. The predisposition of the person to whom it is addressed.

He who looks at the landscape through a painted window sees strange modifications of color, and alterations of the true order of light and shade. Hence, remembering how much our ideas are tinged by the intellectual atmosphere in which we live, we may learn to make allowance for the contradictory sentiments of others. Suspecting that, on many occasions, we accept for a reality what may be only an illusion, we should become tolerant, and learn to admit that there may be honest convictions in an antagonist, and innocence in what seems to us to be error.

Constituted as human society is, the intrinsic truth of an opinion is by no means enough to secure its adoption, but, on the contrary, has quite commonly an insignificant influence, the medium through which the opinion is seen, and the predisposition in which it is contemplated being of greater importance.

It is the physiological operation of a hot climate to produce languor and an indisposition for bodily exertion.

Application of
these principles in
the case of Ameri-
can slavery,

Whoever has the opportunity of so doing will seek to compel those less fortunate than himself to minister to his wants, and hence such a climate must tend to be a region of forced labor. This tendency depends upon temperature; it increases with the heat. From a physical cause there thus arises an individual predisposition; and since that individual predisposition is participated in by every member of such a community, an intellectual atmosphere, as it may be termed, is produced, through which all social problems must be seen. A belief in the lawfulness of slavery is thus not the result of reason—for slavery is utterly indefensible; it is a delusion of the intellectual atmosphere of a slaveholding society.

To overthrow a social system believed to be right is therefore no easy affair. It can not be done by argument alone. Argument weighs little against social influences or personal interests. Men do not concern themselves to ascertain what is abstractly true; they are satisfied with what they think is passing currently for truth. The social repudiation of error is hence of slow progress. It commonly takes place by almost imperceptible degrees.

Condemned by modern civilization and by political economy, but favored by a hot climate, slavery, to exist in America, must perpetually struggle. It must resort to arbitrary means. It must brutalize the slave by compelling him to remain ignorant. It must control discontent by terrorism. A system the basis of which can neither be intellectually nor politically defended, is necessarily compelled to be a system of persecution, intolerant of examination, and forcibly extinguishing dissent. Under such circumstances, communities justify acts against which the whole tenor of modern civilization protests.

Which must neces-
sarily be intolerant.

Climate tendencies facilitate the abolition of slavery in a cold country, but oppose it in one that is warm. The circumstances which accomplished the extinction of villeinage in England would not have had the same effect in the Gulf States of America. Yet the history of the decline of slavery in that country is not without lessons of interest and of ominous warning. I shall therefore, with my reader's consent, devote a few pages to a reminiscence of the Norman Invasion. It illustrates the suffering and ruin that must attend even a partial suppression of a slave system by force.

Illustrations from
villeinage in En-
gland.

At the time of the Norman Conquest the Anglo-Saxon population amounted to two millions. At one period three fourths of that population were in a state of villeinage, but that condition was gradually brought to an end through the operation of three causes: 1st. The law enacted by the Wite-na-gemot in the reign of King Alfred, that if any one bought a Christian slave, the time of servitude should not exceed six years, and on the seventh the slave should go free. The effect of this was to make the sale of slaves difficult, and an ascertained means of emancipation was provided by law. 2d. The Danish and Norman invasions, and subsequently the Civil Wars, by destroying so many of the chief proprietors, gave efficacy to the law that if a slave was not claimed by his master in a limited time, he should be considered as free. 3d. The example of monastic institutions, and this I believe was, in fact, more important than the other two.

The invasion of England by William the Conqueror was not like the predatory excursions of former foreign adventurers. It was not without a color of right. Founding his claim upon the nomination of his kinsman, Edward the Con-

Circumstances of
the Norman Con-
quest.

fessor, and strengthened by the renunciation of his competitor Harold, sworn upon the altar, the army he brought into England was by no means equal to the forced subjugation of the country. It was not so much the victory of Hastings as the death of Harold that gave him success. From that bloody field, on which he had left more than ten thousand men, he doubtingly retired, sedulous to secure a safe line of retreat.

Encouraged by the dissensions of his antagonists, perhaps also by treason, he saw at length that he might venture to press forward and secure his prize. To bring those whom he had overthrown the more willingly to ac-

The policy adopted toward the conquered people by William the Conqueror.

cept his rule, he at first adopted a policy of conciliation. He laid aside the appearance of animosity against all who had resisted him, with kingly munificence bestowing favors on Harold's friends. He tried to conciliate the clergy by loading them with benefits. Declining the attitude of a conqueror, he desired to assume the position of an elected monarch. In Westminster Abbey the Archbishop of York demanded of the nobles and people assembled whether they would consent that he should be their king, and was answered with warm gratulations. To the chief towns, particularly to London, he accorded privileges; forbade oppression of the Saxon people; appointed judges charged to administer strict justice; repaired ecclesiastical edifices that were going to ruin; enjoined an observance of the offices of religion; opened the ports to commerce; gave encouragement to the marriage of his Normans with Saxons. It seemed that he was the choice of the nation, and that all resistance had ceased.

Astute though he was, William, however, forgot that the leaders of a crushed revolt are not to be conciliated by favor. Their loyalty is measured by their fear. During

He finds it impossible to overcome the hatred of the chiefs of revolt.

the ceremony of his coronation in Westminster Abbey the edifice was set on fire. The crime was laid to the charge of his Norman soldiery, but it is difficult to see what interest they could have in periling the life of their leader. The assassination of Saxons of eminence, who had affiliated with the invaders, and had made themselves obnoxious to the defeated party, was followed by the assassination of Normans. The king took alarm. He had already built for his personal security a fortification or tower in London; he perceived that in like manner he must garrison all the large towns. Taking advantage of his temporary absence in Normandy, the Saxon leaders began to conspire, intriguing with the King of Denmark for help. An insurrection broke out in the north of England. William, a soldier from his childhood, put it down. The overthrown barons fled to Scotland. Their partisans, dispersing over the country, plundered and abused their own people. A petty but fearful war of extermination ensued. The Saxons took oaths of loyalty with the intention of breaking them. It was found that they could not be trusted. An inexorable fate oppressed both parties, and drove them to atrocious extremities. The Saxons called

He resorts, as a military necessity, to the emancipation of their slaves.

in the Danes, and were abandoned by them in the first reverses. William, to sap the power of his antagonists, gave facilities for the emancipation of their slaves.

On one side it was suspicion culminating in vengeance; on the other, faithlessness finding a false justification in patriotism, and hatred sharpened by personal misfortunes. William had sworn, under the provocation of

Exasperated by resistance, he changes his policy to one of cruelty.

the Danish invasion, that he would lay desolate the north of England. With ferocious cruelty he kept his oath. He made a desert of all that was beyond the Humber; not a castle, not a

cottage was left. In the first burst of his wrath a hundred thousand wretches miserably perished. Famine and pestilence followed. Strong-holds were built all over the country, and given to trusty soldiers. The Saxon clergy, who had become mixed up with these movements, were remorselessly deposed; even the Pope consented to that retribution. Universal confiscation ensued. The proprietary of the whole country was changed. It ceased to be Saxon; it became Norman, and then—there was peace.

The stern pressure of events against which, to do him justice, it must be said that he vainly struggled, brought William to the conclusion, illustrated in other ages and in other countries, that a great social revolution is not final until it has touched the proprietorship of land. That he encountered these horrors reluctantly is shown by the circumstance that in his old age he tried to learn the language of the conquered race, that he might in person understand their complaints, and be just to them. On his death-bed he looked back with remorse on the cruelties to which he had been driven; and though he gave his dukedom of Normandy to his son Robert, he refrained from imposing a successor on the kingdom of England, lest he should cause a repetition of the horrors he had witnessed, and, Conqueror though he was, he only expressed a hope that William Rufus might be permitted to possess it.

Through such an awful ordeal Saxon England passed.

The proprietorship of the land changed, and the freedom of the slave secured.

Yet out of these evils good was brought.

The Norman invasion did not diminish the liberties of the country, but it inaugurated a national improvement. It did not destroy

the Witenagemot, it only called it "the Parliament." It swept away a demoralized and worn-out proprietary, replacing it by a new and living one, strong enough in succeeding years to extort from reluctant sovereigns valua-

ble privileges. The new landlords and new masters submitted to laws which the old ones would never have tolerated. It may be said that William delivered from the depths of bondage nearly all the rural population. He gave them legal rights. The lord could no longer deprive a laborer of his land if a just service had been rendered for it. No man could be sold out of the country. The residence of a slave for a year and a day, without being claimed, in any city, or walled town, or castle, entitled him to perpetual liberty. The case of the peasant thus came into the courts of the king, where justice was sure to be meted out. Lowly though they might be, the rights of the bondsman were carefully recorded in Domesday Book. The laws of this king made all the laboring population look up to him as their friend. If once the emancipation of the slave had been publicly proclaimed, and the emblems of war, a lance and a sword, had been openly put into his hand, our warlike forefathers held that the faith of the nation was irrevocably pledged. From that moment the man was forever free.

Such was one of the prominent incidents that signalized the gradual extinction of slavery in England; but neither in England nor in Europe generally would such social convulsions have sufficed had there not come into effect that third cause to which I have alluded—the influence of monastic institutions. It is probable that the ameliorated social condition resulting from the Norman Conquest was felt more by the villeins in gross than by the villeins regardant. The former were transferable from one owner to another, the latter were annexed to the land.

Antipathy to exertion soon engenders a sentiment of the disgracefulness of labor. The tendency then is to accumulate wealth in the hands of a few, and to prevent

Effect of monastic
institutions in en-
nobling labor.

the existence of, or to destroy if it already exists, the middle class. From these evils not only England, but Europe, owes its deliverance to monastic institutions. The monastery was usually built in the most charming and picturesque site; its solidity was in strong contrast with the rude peasant-cabins around it. It had its close-mown lawns, its gardens of flowers, its shady paths, and many murmuring streams. The devotion, and charities, and austerities of the brethren; their celibacy, which, to the eye of the vulgar, is a proof of separation from the world and dedication to heaven, gave weight to their example of industry. Under their holy hands the wilderness was turned into the autumnal harvest-field. They guided the plow and bent to the sickle. It was the European monk who first ennobled labor.

But in the American slave countries of the nineteenth century there is nothing that can do what the monasteries did in the darkness of the Middle Ages. There is nothing that, by a transcendently conspicuous authority, can give dignity to manual labor.

No equivalent to those institutions is found in America.

Such a change of sentiment is, however, necessary to the peaceful extinction of slavery. Indeed, for all radical social changes there must be a change in the intellectual atmosphere through which things are contemplated. It is because of the modification it thus gradually impresses on that atmosphere that each generation has actually more influence over the thoughts of its successors than it has over its own.

If the expectation of better views respecting the dignity of manual labor among the American slaveholders was thus so discouraging, not much more favorable was the prospect in the case of the slaves themselves. The advancement of human society may be said to depend very largely on in-

Social prosperity depends on individual discontent.

dividual discontent. The hope of bettering his condition excites the freeman to work; he craves for things he does not possess; he lives in the anticipation that the advantages he has gained to-day will be the means of procuring him new gratifications to-morrow. For this reason, whoever desires the improvement of the emancipated slave must teach him to be dissatisfied with his present lot, else he will sink into idleness, laboring no more than his absolute wants compel, indulging in the gratification of his lusts, and, animal-like, living merely to multiply his race.

Such discontent-
ment is necessary
to the emancipated
slave.

The wonderful activity of the Free States of America turns on the principle we are here considering—individual discontentment. Labor is gladly encountered in the expectation that it will bring an adequate reward. For this reason it is that the civilization of the North is altogether pacific, and that it looks upon war, save under very exceptional circumstances, such as the preservation of its own life, as mere folly. Its condition of progress is self-interest, enlightened, as far as can be accomplished, by a diffusion of knowledge. The individual, changing his prospect without reluctance, not only becomes reconciled to, but aids in the accomplishment of rapid social changes. The intellectual atmosphere through which things are regarded is being continually modified; opinion is perpetually improving. The social progress thus occurring inevitably calls for a corresponding progress in government. Government ceases to be a mere mechanism, which, once constructed, is unchanging; it becomes an organism, ever growing, ever developing.

It is at the basis of
the progress of the
Free States.

SECTION V.

CONFLICT OF THE FREE AND THE SLAVE STATES FOR SUPREMACY IN THE UNION.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MISSOURI QUESTION AND ITS COMPROMISE.

Virginia, having for many presidential terms retained control of the Union, excluded the Opposition or Federal party from power. That party had been irreparably injured by its domestic policy and by its resistance to the English war.

Attempts were made by persons thus excluded from power to overthrow the Virginia dynasty. For this purpose they selected slavery as their object of attack, hoping for success through an appeal to the moral sense of the Free States of the North.

They proposed the restriction of slavery when Missouri applied for admission into the Union as a state. The Slave States resisted their attempt.

In the foregoing section I have described the gradual formation of two geographical parties in the republic, the North and the South, and have shown under what circumstances they tended to come into antagonism with each other.

The conflict in which they subsequently engaged exhibits two phases: 1st. A parliamentary contest in the houses of Congress. 2d. War.

Phases of the contest between the Free and Slave States.

In this section I shall have to relate the chief incidents of that parliamentary contest. They are most conveniently arranged in their chronological order. 1. The Missouri Struggle. 2. The Tariff Question. 3. Nullification. 4. The Annexation of Texas. 5. The Mexican War. 6. The Kansas-Nebraska Conflict.

In 1812, the Territory of Orleans, a part of the country

Application of Missouri to be admitted as a state.

obtained by purchase from France by Mr. Jefferson, was admitted into the Union under the title of the State of Louisiana. Six years subsequently, the Territory of Missouri, the more northerly portion of the purchase, made application to be also admitted as a state. At that time the application was unsuccessful, but it was renewed in the following year in the House of Representatives. During the debates that ensued, a most important amendment was introduced by a Northern member to the following effect:

A slave restriction proposed.

“Provided that the introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party has been duly convicted; and that all children born within the said state, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be declared free at the age of twenty-four years.”

This restriction at once gave rise to a sectional conflict between the North and the South, and the bill was eventually lost through the House and Senate disagreeing.

In the following Congress the attempt was again renewed. Though Arkansas, which was a part of the Louisiana purchase not embraced in the proposed limits of Missouri, had in the mean time been admitted as a slave Territory, the South made the most determined resistance to the advocates of restriction. By some the constitutional right to enact the provision was denied; others, anticipating a course of action which was eventually to assume importance, asserted the doctrine of “Congressional non-interference”—that Congress has no power to mould the institutions of a new state, more particularly that it has none to interfere either with the introduction or prohibition of slavery. It was affirmed

that the restriction put a stigma on the whole South, and threats were not wanting that, rather than submit to it, the South would secede from the Union. On the other hand, the Legislatures of several of the Northern States transmitted to Congress resolutions in its favor.

Meantime a bill had passed the House admitting Maine as a state; and at this juncture the Senate returned that bill with an addition authorizing Missouri to form a state Constitution, the intention being to force the admission of Missouri by means of the admission of Maine. The House refusing to concur in the action of the Senate, a conciliatory proposition was introduced in the Senate, known as "The Missouri Compromise:" it was to the following effect:

"And be it further enacted, That in all that Territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the state (Missouri) contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is, hereby forever prohibited. Provided always, That any person escaping into the same from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any state or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

In this proposition the House refused to concur. In the Committee of Conference that ensued it was proposed that the Senate should give up its combination of Missouri with Maine, and the House its restriction of slavery in Missouri, but that slavery should be excluded in accordance with the Compromise from all other territory north and west of

The Missouri Compromise.

Circumstances attending the admission of Missouri as a state.

Missouri. In this form the bill passed. When, however, Missouri presented herself for admission at the next session, with a Constitution prohibiting her Legislature to emancipate slaves or to prevent their immigration, but requiring it to prohibit the immigration of free negroes or mulattoes, the North, considering that this was a violation of that clause of the Constitution which guarantees to the citizens of each state the rights of citizens in every state, compelled the adoption of an additional condition, that no act should ever be passed by the Legislature of Missouri "by which any of the citizens of either of the states should be excluded from the enjoyment of the privileges and immunities to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States."

The Missouri Question stands forth as a prominent landmark in the view of American history. It presents itself so suddenly, so abruptly as to excite surprise. When Louisiana was admitted into the Union in 1812, there was no objection on account of slavery; when Mississippi was admitted in 1817, the only reluctance to the measure was the size of her territory, and that was remedied by the separation of what became the State of Alabama from her. Alabama, in its turn, was admitted without question in 1819. In like manner formerly Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, had been received without any question as to their free or slave condition.

It is plain, therefore, that something had occurred which was bringing the Slave Question more conspicuously into view. Thirty years later, when the consequent disputes had risen to a fearful and fatal height, Mr. Seward, in one of his speeches, said (1850), "Sir, in my humble judgment, it is not the fierce conflict of parties that we are seeing

Interpretation of
the Missouri
Question.

It was ostensibly
connected with
the improving
morality of the
times,

and hearing, but, on the contrary, it is the agony of distraction of parties—a convulsion resulting from the too narrow foundations of both the great parties, and of all parties—foundations laid in compromises of natural justice and human liberty. A question—a moral question—transcending the too narrow creeds of parties, has arisen; the public conscience expands with it, and the green withes of party associations give way, and break and fall off from it. No, sir, it is not the state that is dying of the fever of party spirit. It is merely a paralysis of parties, premonitory, however, of their restoration with new elements of health and vigor, to be imbibed from that spirit of the age which is justly called Progress.”

Such, too, was the general opinion at the time of the Missouri struggle in the North. It was believed that the Declaration of Independence was a protest against slavery, and that, as had formerly been the case in Massachusetts in her domestic slavery, the public conscience had at last awakened to the fact.

Doubtless society at the North had been experiencing the silent influence of that “spirit of the age which is called Progress.” The Puritanism of New England had to no little extent been cast off; its narrow conceptions, and many of its austerities, had been abjured. It had been exorcised of its evil spirit, and made more worthy of the times. The things in which it had once seen no wrong, or perhaps had defended—the deportation of Indians, the African slave-trade, the perpetual bondage of American-born persons of color—it would now no longer endure.

But beneath these moral considerations lay others of a political kind, in which were contained the convulsive force that caused, after several premonitions, the social earthquake which has been witnessed in our days. To comprehend this, it

But politically was
a struggle for power.

I.—Z

is only needful for us to learn the opinions of some of the leading men who were, at the time of the Missouri struggle, standing at the general point of view.

President Jefferson, then in the decline of life, but, perhaps, better able to judge of the state of public affairs than any contemporary, says:

“The (Missouri) question is a mere party trick. The leaders of Federalism are taking advantage of the virtuous feeling of the people to effect a division of parties by a geographical line; they expect that this will insure them, on local principles, the majority they could never obtain on the principles of Federalism.” “The coincidence of a marked principle, moral and political, with a geographical line once conceived, I feared would never more be obliterated from the mind; that it would be recurring on every occasion, and renewing irritations, until it would kindle such mutual and mortal hatred as to render separation preferable to eternal discord.” “The people of the North went blindfold into the snare, and followed their leaders for a while with a zeal truly moral and laudable, until they became sensible that they were injuring instead of aiding the real interests of the slaves—that they had been used merely as tools for electioneering purposes—and that trick of hypocrisy then fell as quickly as it had been got up.”

Long exclusion of
the Federalists
from power.

The Federal party had been excluded from power for nearly twenty years—since the close of Mr. Adams’s administration. Their ideas of centralization were not in harmony with the times; the enactment of the Alien and Sedition Laws had afforded the rival party an opportunity of accomplishing their defeat. They had again committed the mistake of openly opposing the war of 1812. On its declaration the flags in Boston had been lowered to half-mast. All through the East the pulpits were thundering against it.

Exertions were made to prevent any portion of the government loan being taken in New England. President Madison had found himself constrained to advert in his message to the want of patriotism evinced by the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut in their refusal to furnish the required detachments of militia for the defense of the maritime frontier. A mystery surrounded the Hartford Convention, which met in the autumn of 1814; it was suspected of contemplating measures of secession.

While thus in the East the war was regarded with disfavor, and denounced as needless and injurious to the best interests of the country, it was sustained with the warmest approval throughout the South. After the overthrow of the French emperor and his exile to Elba, it became clear that it was not possible to continue the English struggle any longer, and, indeed, had there not been the foreign consideration that the whole power of England, now disengaged from her conflict with France, would be drawn into play, the state of the American finances would have brought the war to an end. The dominant party could not conceal their mortification that peace had been made without any avowed adjustment of the difficulty which had led to the war, and were only too ready to lay the blame on their rivals. On the other hand, the Federalists now discovered how perilous it is, when war is once commenced, to be found in opposition to the government; and the public, intoxicated by the brilliant results of the duels of the frigates, and wrought up to the highest pitch of military enthusiasm by the victory at New Orleans, were in no temper to forgive them.

Under these circumstances, no hopes remained to the Federalist leaders from persevering in their past intentions. It had become absolutely necessary for them to

Their conduct in
the English war
leaves them with-
out hope.

have new objects and a new policy. It was to this conclusion that Mr. Jefferson referred when he accused them of taking advantage of the virtuous feelings of the people to effect a geographical division of parties by raising a controversy with the slave power.

The origin of these parties dates back to the Revolution. Long before the designations Federalist and Republican were used, their animating principles were in vigorous action.

The original Revolutionists had been decomposed into an English and a French party.

There was a party, as we have seen (page 268), headed by Washington, which saw safety for the colonies only in centralization, another inclined to a league; the former perceived that restraint was necessary to order, the latter would sacrifice nothing of individual liberty, and as little as possible of state-rights. Even as early as the time of Washington's appointment as commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary army, Mr. Adams says there was a Northern and a Southern party: the Northern yielded on that point to the wishes of the Virginians.

The action of these parties was manifested in the formation of the Confederation; it is still more strikingly seen in the various debates on the Constitution. The tranquillity of Washington's cabinet was disturbed by them; he vainly attempted to compose their dissensions. It was not possible but that each should sympathize with ideas corresponding to its own, at that time agitating, and, indeed, convulsing all Europe.

Washington heads the former, Jefferson the latter.

France, in her revolution, had put herself forth as the representative of Liberty. England claimed to be the representative of Order. Mr. Jefferson, who in due time became the recognized head of the Republican party, leaned altogether to the former, accepting without re-

serve all her democratic ideas. His opinions were extensively adopted throughout the Southern States. On the other hand, Washington, partly from state considerations and partly from religious ideas, inclined to the English side. But no one, whatever his opinions might be, could defend the atrocities perpetrated by the French Republic, or excuse its action toward foreign powers. In that respect the American government had special causes of complaint, which became more and more aggravated through the policy of Napoleon.

In the important events ensuing in consequence of the enactment of the Alien and Sedition Laws, Jefferson's party is triumphant. we again see the influence of geographical parties. Of these acts Mr. J. Q. Adams observes, "The Alien Act was passed under feelings of honest indignation at the audacity with which foreign emissaries were practicing, within the bosom of the country, upon the passions of the people against their own government. The Sedition Act was intended as a curb upon the publication of malicious and incendiary slanders upon the President, or the two houses of Congress, or either of them. But they were restrictive upon the personal liberty of foreign emissaries and upon the political licentiousness of the press." Mr. Jefferson took advantage of their extreme unpopularity not only to throw the Federal party out of power, but even to array the states against the Union. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, both of which were drafted by him or at his suggestion, asserted the right of individual states to interpose as against the United States; and from them originated the doctrine of Nullification.

From these various incidents we see how strong was the tendency to the formation of geographical parties even early in the history of the republic. Already there was politically a North and a South; already they had

foreign affiliations, English and French, respectively. Local ideas were still dominating over the general good. Thus, as we have seen (p. 202), it was thought better for New England that there should be an advantageous treaty with Spain than that the South should have permission for the navigation of the Mississippi. It was such inspirations as these that led Mr. Jefferson and his party to cling to peace with France—a French war would have been their ruin. The history of the United States would have been altogether different had the contest of 1812 been with France instead of with England. When once a war is declared, all parties are swept into its vortex; if any linger, or, still more, if they resist, they are certain to be overwhelmed.

The war of 1812–15 took place; the Federalists resisted it and were ruined. At the close of that war there was every prospect that the dominant party would perpetuate its long enjoyment of power. The old questions and old issues were determined. The Virginia dynasty had become master of the situation. In vain New England had entertained the idea of joining with Calhoun, Cheves, Lowndes, and other South Carolinians, who were animated by similar sentiments of disappointed ambition, for putting it down. That dynasty had gained great strength from the acquisition of Louisiana and the free navigation of the Mississippi. There was nothing to stop the slave-system, which was now a power in the state, from indefinite westward extension. Cotton had become so paramount that a protective tariff was actually imposed by the South upon New England, in order that the development of the new industry of the Slave States might be encouraged. It was not until subsequently that both parties detected, to their surprise, the true working of such a tariff, and mutually changed their ground.

Jefferson gratifies the Southern lust for territorial expansion by the purchase of Louisiana.

Adverse fortune and ill-judged policy had brought the Federal party to its end. Its leaders saw that all was over. New and living issues must be sought for. Not without wisdom did they select another stand-point, and prepare to combat their adversary in his most vulnerable part.

Struggle to overthrow the Virginia dynasty.

A compact and an unmistakable formula, of which the purport is easily understood, is invaluable as a party war-cry. To restrain slavery, and eventually to destroy it, became their dogma. It gathered irresistible power, because it was in unison with the sentiment of the times.

The Slave Question is used as the means of attack.

In this manner the North became the champion of Unionism, the South necessarily falling into the theory of state-rights, with its dangerous consequences of nullification and secession.

The Slave States adopt the doctrine of state-rights.

In this manner, also, slavery became the political touchstone. The introduction of the Missouri dispute banded the South together; it agitated to their profoundest depths the populations of the North. They accepted the proposed Constitution of Missouri, which prohibited the emancipation of slaves and forbade the immigration of freedmen, as a cartel of defiance. As in the dissolving views depicted by a magic lantern on the wall, the Federalist party disappeared, and out of the ruinous confusion its anti-slavery successor began slowly to take on form and emerge.

CHAPTER XX.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

The South declined the assault of her antagonist on slavery, and assumed the offensive on the Tariff Question. The tariff, originally a Southern measure, operated in a manner unexpected by both parties, who were obliged to change their ground. It was denounced by the South as unjust to her, and tending to political debauchery; it was defended by New England as a wise and necessary national policy.

To the Northern politician, who, during Mr. Monroe's administration, recalled the past annals of the republic, the future was without hope. Incited by his devotion to Unionism, he had tried to strengthen the central power at Washington, but had been defeated on the occasion of the Alien and Sedition Acts; he had looked with disfavor on the free navigation of the Mississippi, but the river had been bought; he was disinclined to territorial expansion, but Louisiana had been purchased; he had resisted the admission of new states from that purchase, but, one after another, they were coming in. He had opposed the English war; his opposition had brought nothing but discredit. In supercilious pride his Southern antagonists had imposed a protective tariff, that they might make him their spinner and weaver; he had resisted it in vain, little dreaming what its issue would be. It was intended to diminish his commercial gains by touching his carrying interest. But the New England manufacturing power, thus stimulated in its growth, quickly showed what it was about to do. Every mill and machine-shop became a centre from which wealth was diffused.

Imposition of a
tariff in 1816.

The protective tariff was originally a Southern meas-

ure, due, in no small degree, to Mr. Calhoun, who, in 1816, being then a member of the House, advanced it very effectually. It was expected to prove of great benefit to the South by promoting the interest of the cotton-planters.

It is originally a Southern measure.

In the decade between 1820 and 1830 the essential distinction between the labor of the North and that of the South had become clearly manifest. In the former it was machinery, in the latter slaves. The stimulation that had been administered to machine development at the North produced the same wonderful effect that had been observed in Western England thirty years before. The South had plainly overreached herself.

Its effects on the labor-system.

The raising of the Missouri Question was a blow at the labor-system of the South. In due time, as we shall presently see, it was retaliated by Nullification, a blow at the labor-system of the North. These were but preliminary to the mortal engagement that ensued in the civil war.

Climate had separated the American nation into two sections, and they, of course, had become known by geographical names. It had made a North and a South. The political instinct of each had become distinctly marked. In one it was manifested by Unionism; in the other by State-rights. The labor-basis on which the two societies were resting had now become distinctly separate; in one it was machinery, in the other slaves.

Labor is the basis of national prosperity—the basis of national power. Not without reason, therefore, did the two sections, in their rivalry, strike at each other in that part. To regain her lost influence in the republic, the North acted wisely in commencing the Missouri struggle, because she could rest her action on a great moral idea; and a true idea,

Wisdom of the North in raising the Slave Question.

no matter what may be the physical resistance it encounters, will inevitably, at last, force its way.

For the same reason, the South discreetly changed its ground. Even at the time of the Missouri struggle its most anxious desire was, as in subsequent years, "only to be let alone." It did not dare to meet its rival on the Slave Question, for throughout Southern society there were the most serious misgivings as to the morality of the assailed institution. Religious men, and what, perhaps, was still more important, religious women, earnestly prayed that it might be brought to an end. They had not yet concluded that it was of patriarchal origin, and had received apostolic sanction. They thought that for the slave and his master there was but one common Redeemer, and that an inevitable day would come in which He would be their common Judge.

Instead, therefore, of maintaining a defensive war on the indefensible question of slavery, the South boldly assumed the offensive, carrying her operations into the territory of her antagonist, and, by striking at the tariff, struck at her basis of labor. Her action in this matter was known as Nullification.

Great political principles soon become embodied in representative men. Mr. Clay presents himself, though a man of Southern birth and Western residence, as the defender of the labor-system of the North. His American system protects the home manufacturer, and puts its trust in machinery. He has no faith in the slave. His love of the Union is instinctive; it is the attribute of his party.

On the other side stands Mr. Calhoun, the defender of the labor-system of the South. He has no confidence in and no patronage for machinery. A great republic has no charms for him {his maxim is state-rights.

Wisdom of the South in declining it, and putting the struggle on the tariff.

Mr. Clay becomes the representative of Northern industrial interests,

And Mr. Calhoun of Southern.

The principle that in the imposition of a tariff the protection of home industry should be the object and revenue the incident, appears distinctly in 1816. At that time, and up to 1824, the Eastern States may be considered as having commercial interests that predominated over their manufactures, and hence they were advocates of free trade, and, as has been stated, opponents of a protective tariff, which had heretofore found its chief support in the Southern, the Middle, and the Western States. In the course of a few years manufacturing industry underwent a rapid development. New England discovered that it had become of singular value to her; the Southern States detected the mistake they had made; and the leading representatives of these different sections were compelled to change their position. Thus Mr. Webster, who had first appeared as an advocate for free trade and an opponent of the principle of protection, adopted in due season high-tariff views; and Mr. Calhoun, who had looked with favor on tariff principles originally, was brought into strenuous opposition to them.

History of the earlier tariff movements.

The North and the South are obliged mutually to change their ground.

In the discussions that took place on this subject in 1824, Mr. Clay took the lead as the champion of the American system. Mr. Webster was found in opposition as the advocate of free trade. Mr. Benton, relating the circumstances under which the bill eventually passed, remarks: "The attack and support of the bill took much of a sectional aspect; Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and some others, being nearly unanimous against it; Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Kentucky, being nearly unanimous for it. Massachusetts, which up to this time had a predominating interest in commerce, gave all her votes except one against it. With this sectional aspect, a tariff for prohibition also be-

State of the subject in 1824.

gan to assume a political aspect, being taken under the care of the party since discriminated as the Whig."

This sectional aspect which the Tariff Question had assumed became much more strongly marked in 1828. The tariff then enacted was originally designed for the benefit of the woolen interest; but, one after another, other manufactures were included, until a sufficient legislative strength was gathered to carry it. It was a sacrifice of public to local interests. The hemp, iron, lead, and distilled spirits of the West were conjoined with the woollens of the East in securing its passage. Many of those who, under the stress of the domestic influence of their constituents, voted for it, publicly protested against its principles; they foresaw the abuses it was introducing, and that it offered a ready means of widespread bribery in presidential and other elections.

In his historical sketch of the tariff of 1828, Mr. Benton remarks: "Tariff bills, each exceeding the other in its degree of protection, had become a regular appendage of our presidential elections, coming round in every cycle of four years with that returning event. The year 1816 was the starting-point—1820, 1824, and now 1828 having successively renewed the measure, with successive augmentations of duties. The South believed itself impoverished to enrich the North by this system, and, certainly, a singular and unexpected result had been seen in these two sections.

"In the colonial state the Southern were the rich part of the colonies, and expected to do well in a state of independence. They had the exports, and felt secure of their property; not so of the North, whose agricultural resources were few, and who expected privations from the loss of British favor. But in the first half century after independence

It becomes still more sectional in 1828.

The South, becoming impoverished, protests against the system.

Mr. Benton's representation of the position of things.

this expectation was reversed. The wealth of the North was enormously aggrandized; that of the South had declined. Northern towns had become great cities. Southern cities had decayed or become stationary, and Charleston, the principal port of the South, was less considerable than before the Revolution. The North became a money-lender to the South, and Southern citizens made pilgrimages to Northern cities to raise money upon the hypothecation of their patrimonial estates; and this in the face of a Southern export since the Revolution to the value of eight hundred millions of dollars—a sum equal to the product of the Mexican mines since the days of Cortez, and twice or thrice the amount of their product in the same fifty years. The Southern States attributed this result to the action of the federal government—its double action of levying revenue upon the industry of one section of the Union and expending it in another—and especially to its protective tariffs. To some degree this attribution was just, but not to the degree assumed, which is evident from the fact that the protective system had then only been in force for a short time—since the year 1816; and the reverse condition of the two sections of the Union had commenced before that time. Other causes must have had some effect.” What those other causes were I shall point out hereafter.

On the occasion of the tariff of 1828 Mr. M'Duffie clearly set forth the opinions held by the South on the principle involved. “Sir, if the union of these states shall ever be severed, and their liberties subverted, the historian who records these disasters will have to ascribe them to measures of this description. I do sincerely believe that neither this government nor any free government can exist for a quarter of a century under such a system of legislation. Its inevitable tendency is to corrupt not only the public functionaries, but all those por-

The speech of Mr. M'Duffie, showing the political demoralization that must ensue.

tions of the Union and classes of society who have an interest, real or imaginary, in the bounties it provides by taxing other sections or other classes. What, sir, is the essential characteristic of a freeman? It is that independence which results from an habitual reliance upon his own resources and his own labor for his support. He is not, in fact, a freeman who habitually looks to the government for pecuniary bounties. And I confess that nothing in the conduct of those who are the prominent advocates of this system has excited more apprehension and alarm in my mind than the constant efforts made by all of them, from the Secretary of the Treasury down to the humblest coadjutor, to impress upon the public mind the idea that national prosperity and individual wealth are to be derived, not from individual industry and economy, but from government bounties. An idea more fatal

He declares that protective tariffs will renew the political debauchery of Rome.

to liberty could not be inculcated. I said, on another occasion, that the days of Roman liberty were numbered when the people consented to receive bread from the public granaries. From that moment it was not the patriot who had shown the greatest capacity, and made the greatest sacrifices to serve the republic, but the demagogue who would promise to distribute most profusely the spoils of the plundered provinces, that was elevated to office by a degenerate and mercenary populace. Every thing became venal, even in the country of Fabricius, until finally the empire itself was sold at public auction! And what, sir, is the nature and tendency of the system we are discussing? It bears an analogy but too lamentably striking to that which corrupted the republican purity of the Roman people. God forbid that it should consummate its triumph over the public liberty here by a similar catastrophe, though even that is an event by no means improbable if we continue to legislate periodically in this way, and to connect the election of our chief magistrate

Its effect on the
presidential elec-
tion.

with the question of dividing out the spoils of certain states—degraded into Roman provinces—among the influential capitalists of the other states of this Union! Sir, when I consider that, by a single act like the present, from five to ten millions of dollars may be transferred annually from one part of the community to another—when I consider the disguise of disinterested patriotism under which the basest and most profligate ambition may perpetrate such an act of injustice and political prostitution, I can not hesitate for a moment to pronounce this very system of indirect bounties the most stupendous instrument of corruption ever placed in the hands of public functionaries. It brings ambition, and avarice, and wealth into a combination which it is fearful to contemplate, because it is almost impossible to resist. Do we not perceive, at this very moment, the extraordinary and melancholy spectacle of less than one hundred thousand capitalists, by means of this unhallowed combination, exercising an absolute and despotic control over the opinions of eight millions of free citizens, and the fortunes and destinies of ten millions? Sir, I will not anticipate or forbode evil. I will not permit myself to believe that the Presidency of the United States will ever be bought and sold by this system of bounties and prohibitions; but I must say that there are certain quarters of this Union in which, if a candidate for the Presidency were to come forward with the Harrisburg tariff in his hand, nothing could resist his pretensions if his adversary were opposed to this unjust system of oppression. Yes, sir, that bill would be a talisman which would give a charmed existence to the candidate who would pledge himself to support it; and, although he were covered with all the “multiplying villainies of nature,” the most immaculate patriot and profound statesman in the nation could hold no competition with him if he should refuse to grant this new species of imperial donative.”

The causes which had led New England to change her views, and to become henceforth the advocate of the protective tariffs, or "American System," were at the same time (1828) set forth by Mr. Webster, who had himself followed that change in the opinion of the Eastern communities. "New England, sir, has not been a leader in this policy. On the contrary, she held back herself, and tried to hold others back from it, from the adoption of the Constitution to 1824. Up to 1824 she was accused of sinister and selfish designs because she discountenanced the progress of this policy. It was laid to her charge then, that, having established her manufactures herself, she wished that others should not have the power of rivaling her, and for that reason opposed all legislative encouragement. Under this angry denunciation against her the act of 1824 passed. Now the imputation is precisely of an opposite character. The present measure is pronounced to be exclusively for the benefit of New England, to be brought forward by her agency, and designed to gratify the cupidity of her wealthy establishments.

Mr. Webster's defense of the position of New England, and her change of views.

"Both charges, sir, are equally without the slightest foundation. The opinion of New England up to 1824 was founded on the conviction that, on the whole, it was wisest and best, both for herself and others, that manufactures should make haste slowly. She felt a reluctance to trust great interests on the foundation of government patronage, for who could tell how long such patronage would last, or with what steadiness, skill, or perseverance it would continue to be granted? It is true that, from the very first commencement of the government, those who have administered its concerns have held a tone of encouragement and invitation toward those who should embark in

He declares that she has been constrained by government action,

manufactures. All the presidents, I believe without exception, have concurred in this general sentiment, and the very first act of Congress laying duties of impost adopted the then unusual expedient of a preamble, apparently for little other purpose than that of declaring that the duties which it imposed were imposed for the encouragement and protection of manufactures. When, at the commencement of the late war, duties were doubled, we were told that we should find a mitigation of the weight of taxation in the new aid and succor which would be thus afforded to our own manufacturing labor. Like arguments were urged and prevailed, but not by the aid of New England votes, when the tariff was afterward arranged at the close of the war in 1816. Finally, after a whole winter's deliberation, the act of 1824 received the sanction of both houses of Congress, and settled the policy of the country. What, then, was New England to do? She was

And that, having
been driven to
manufacturing,
she must now
sustain it.

fitted for manufacturing operations by the amount and character of her population, by her capital, by the vigor and energy of her free labor, by the skill, economy, enterprise, and perseverance of her people. I repeat, what was she, under these circumstances, to do? A great and prosperous rival in her near neighborhood, threatening to draw from her a part, perhaps a great part of her foreign commerce, was she to use or to neglect those other means of seeking her own prosperity which belonged to her character and her condition? Was she to hold out forever against the course of the government, and see herself losing on one side, and yet making no efforts to sustain herself on the other? No, sir, nothing was left to New England after the act of 1824 but to conform herself to the will of others. Nothing was left to her but to consider that the government had fixed and determined its own policy, and that policy was protection."

I.—A A

CHAPTER XXI.

ATTEMPTED NULLIFICATION OF THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES BY SOUTH CAROLINA.

In 1832, South Carolina, under the influence of Mr. Calhoun, placed herself in opposition to the United States on the Tariff Question, and passed an ordinance of Nullification. President Jackson issued a proclamation, pointing out that the movement was the work of disappointed and ambitious men, denouncing it as treasonable, and declaring his intention to enforce the laws. He called upon the people to sustain him in the discharge of his duty. At his recommendation Congress removed just causes of complaint through the Compromise Measures of Mr. Clay, and South Carolina receded from her position.
The life and character of Mr. Calhoun.

THE election of 1828, which gave the Presidency to General Jackson and the Vice-Presidency to Mr. Calhoun, was a renewed triumph of the South over the North, of the Slave over the Free States, and a repudiation of the policy of protective tariffs.

In 1832, General Jackson was re-elected, and that repudiation reaffirmed. During his first term of office, misunderstandings had taken place between him and Mr. Calhoun sufficiently serious to cause the dissolution of the cabinet.

Isolation of Mr.
Calhoun from his
party.

Whatever ambitious aspirations might have been entertained by Mr. Calhoun of attaining, in due time, to the Presidency, they were by these events destroyed. He had become isolated from the party to which, by the general tenor of his views, he properly belonged, and yet he maintained a position of singular influence, often holding, as it were, the balance of power between it and its antagonist.

His extraordinary talent gave him great political control in South Carolina, his native state, and since she

His influence on the future of the republic. adopted his views and carried them into execution as far as she had ability, his disappointed expectations have left a deep—perhaps it ought to be added a baneful—impression on the history of the republic. His aim eventually was to assure supreme power to an oligarchy of slaveholders; and South Carolina, like a Cartesian image, moved under the pressure of his finger.

Since the true effect of a high tariff had been discovered—that it would inevitably lead to the aggrandizement of the North—he had never ceased to inculcate upon the Slave States how detrimental it was to their well-being. The re-election of General Jackson in 1832, Mr. Van Buren being now Vice-President, was generally accepted as an unmistakable demonstration of the intention and wishes of the nation. Mr. Clay, the champion of the Protective Policy, and the opposition candidate for the Presidency, had been totally overthrown. Out of two hundred and twenty-eight votes, he had received only forty-nine.

The principle of a protective tariff declined by the nation.

In view of the extinction of the public debt, the President, in his annual message, had recommended a rearrangement and readjustment of the tariff; there was every reason to suppose that Congress, in its ensuing session, would carry that recommendation into effect.

President Jackson recommends a suitable modification of it.

But South Carolina, without waiting for that result, proceeded to act alone. She had held aloof from the election, and, within a few days after it, she issued through a Convention an “ordinance to nullify certain acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws laying duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities.” The chief points in this ordinance were, that the acts referred to were declared to be unauthorized by the Con-

South Carolina precipitately passes a Nullification ordinance.

stitution, and therefore null and void; that any attempt to enforce the collection of duties under them was unlawful; that no appeal to the Supreme Court should be permitted from any court calling the authority of the ordinance in question; that every officer in the state should take an oath to execute the ordinance; and that, if the general government should attempt to resort to force to accomplish its purpose, South Carolina would secede from the Union. The Convention issued two addresses, one to the people of South Carolina, the other to the people of the other states.

Address of the Convention to the people of South Carolina,

The first of these affirms that the general government is not national; that it is the creation of the states; that it is only an agent with limited and defined powers, and to be looked upon as the issue of a treaty between independent sovereigns; that there is no such body as "the people of the United States" known to the laws; that the states may resume the powers they have delegated; that the Supreme Court is merely a creature of the government, and not an umpire; that it is no tribunal for settling constitutional questions; that resistance is a constitutional right; and that the primary allegiance of a citizen is due to his state.

In the second it is affirmed that South Carolina seeks nothing more than to preserve the Constitution, and thereby the Union; that she will never submit to this system of taxation, nor to injustice and oppression. A uniform duty on all foreign articles is what she demands, and she will never submit to military coercion.

And to the people of other states.

The intention of this movement was to bring on an issue between the United States and South Carolina, the latter venturing to set herself in the attitude of a sovereign and equal, and

South Carolina intends to force a dispute on the United States.

to constitute herself the judge of the question. That there might be no opportunity for Congress to carry into effect its intention of readjusting the tariff, and thereby gratify what was obviously the national wish, the Legislature proceeded to pass the acts necessary to give the ordinance effect, and the first day of the ensuing February was appointed for it to go into operation.

In a few days after this ordinance reached him, President Jackson issued a proclamation, examining in detail the assumed veto of a state, and its right to secede from the Union. He had already ordered General Scott to Charleston, and had made military and naval dispositions to assert the authority of the United States in that city.

President Jackson
issues a proclama-
tion.

He declared "that the doctrine of a state veto upon the laws of the Union carries with it internal evidence of its impracticable absurdity." As to secession, he says: "The Constitution of the United States forms a government, not a league. It is a government in which the people are represented, which operates directly upon the people individually, not upon the states. Each state, having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute jointly with other states a single nation, can not from that period possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation."

He denounces se-
cession.

Enforcing the foregoing assertions by arguments, he then addresses the people of South Carolina, his "native state," in earnest expostulation and entreaty: "Let me tell you, my countrymen, that you are deluded by men who are either deceived themselves, or wish to deceive you. Mark under what pretenses you have been led on to the brink of insurrection and treason on which you stand." "Eloquent appeals to your passions, to your state pride, to your native courage, to your sense of real injury, were used to prepare you for the pe-

riod when the mask which concealed the hideous features of disunion should be taken off. Look back to the arts which have brought you to this state; look forward to the consequences to which it must eventually lead." "You are not an oppressed people, contending, as they repeat to you, against worse than colonial vassalage; you are free members of a flourishing and happy union. There is no settled design to oppress you. You have, indeed, felt the unequal operation of laws which may have been unwisely, but not unconstitutionally passed. But that inequality must necessarily be removed. At the very moment when you were madly urged on to the unfortunate course you have begun, a change in public opinion had commenced; but, as if apprehensive of the effect of this change in allaying your discontent, you were precipitated into the fearful state in which you now find yourselves."

"The dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to announce that you can not succeed. The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you; they could not have deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion. Be not deceived by names: disunion by armed force is *treason*. Are you ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act be the dreadful consequences—on their heads be the dishonor, but on yours may fall the punishment. On your unhappy state will inevitably fall all the evils of the conflict you force upon the government of your coun-

Declares that secession can not be peaceably accomplished, but means war;

That secession is treason, and will bring its penalties.

try. It can not accede to the mad project of disunion, of which you would be the first victims; its first magistrate can not, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty."

He then adjures them, in the most fervent language, not to be the authors of the first attack on the Constitution of their country: "Its destroyers you can not be. You may disturb its peace, you may interrupt the course of its prosperity, you may cloud its reputation for stability, but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the stain upon its national character will be transferred to and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder."

Then, addressing the people of the United States, he justifies to them the necessity of his proclamation, and adds: "I rely with equal confidence on your undivided support in my determination to execute the laws, to preserve the Union by all constitutional means, to arrest, if possible, by moderate but firm measures, the necessity of a resort to force."

In this proclamation, the President, without any hesitation, points out the true cause of the troubles —the machinations of disappointed political aspirants, who, taking advantage of public discontents that were not without a just cause, were goading the Southern communities into disunion. On a subsequent occasion, referring to these events, he remarked: "The tariff was but a pretext. The next will be the Slavery or Negro Question."

In the mean time South Carolina organized troops, and provided arms and munitions of war. Hereupon the President, early in January, made a special communication to Congress, recommending the removal of all just causes of complaint, and setting forth the steps he had taken for vindicating the sovereignty of the nation against the insurgent state. He

He calls on the people of the United States to support him.

Imputes the blame to the intrigues of disappointed ambitious men.

He recommends to Congress to remove all just causes of complaint.

recognized clearly that the feeling of the dissatisfied people was just and reasonable, and that they simply wanted relief from what they considered to be a wrong; but he also distinctly perceived that there were ambitious and disappointed politicians who were inflaming this discontent for ulterior and personal objects. Congress therefore proceeded to apply the necessary remedies, though not without misgivings on the part of some that the moment was inopportune when the protesting state was in an attitude of armed defiance. A proposition—Mr. Verplanck's bill—had been for some time under discussion in the House—it contained large reductions and important equalizations of duties—when suddenly, on the evening of February 25th, as the members were preparing to retire,

Passage of Mr.
Clay's Compromise.

Mr. Letcher, of Kentucky, a friend of Mr. Clay, moved to strike out the whole of the Verplanck bill except the enacting clause, and insert in its stead a bill that had been offered in the Senate by Mr. Clay, since known as "the Compromise." Mr. Benton, relating these circumstances, says: "The bill, which made its first appearance in the House late in the evening, when members were gathering up their overcoats for a walk home to dinner, was passed before those coats had got on the back, and the dinner, which was waiting, had but little time to cool, before the astonished members, their work done, were at the table to eat it." The vote being taken, the substitute forthwith passed by 119 to 85.

The general principle of Mr. Clay's Compromise was, that one tenth of the excess over twenty per cent. of each existing impost was to be taken off at the close of the current year (1833), a second tenth after two years, and so on until 1842, when all duties should be reduced to a maximum of twenty per cent.

But this arrangement was not effected without remonstrance. Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts, protested against

the whole proceedings, declaring "that the root of the discontent lay deeper than the tariff, and would continue when the tariff was forgotten." Mr. Calhoun himself had indicated his true sentiments in the Senate when he said, "Every Southern man true to the interests of his section, and faithful to the duties which Providence has allotted him, will be forever excluded from the honors and emoluments of the government." He had also said in reference to the "Force Bill," "To suppose that the entire power of the Union may be placed in the hands of this government, and that all the various interests in this widely-extended country may be safely placed under the will of an unchecked majority, is the extreme of folly and madness. The result would be inevitable that power would be exclusively centred in the dominant interest north of this river (the Potomac), and that all the south of it would be held as subjected provinces, to be controlled for the exclusive benefit of the stronger section."

Mr. Benton, in his work "Thirty Years' View," to which I have already referred, gives the "secret history of the Compromise of 1833." He says substantially that Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay were early and long rival aspirants for the Presidency, and antagonistic leaders in opposite political systems—the former for free trade, the latter for protection. The coalition between them in 1833 was only a hollow truce, embittered by the humiliation to which Mr. Calhoun was subjected in the protective features of the "Compromise," and only kept alive for a few years by their mutual interest with respect to General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren. A rupture was foreseen by every observer; and in a few years it took place, and in open Senate, in a way to give the key to the secret motives which led to that compromise.

Attempts had been made by several senators to secure

Mr. Benton on the
secret history of
that Compromise.

an understanding between Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay, who were not on speaking terms, with a view to such modifications in Mr. Clay's proposed Compromise as would make it more acceptable to its opponents, and aid in releasing South Carolina from her position. "These South Carolinians," said Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, "are acting very badly, but they are good fellows, and it is a pity to let Jackson hang them." Mr. Webster, who had been applied to to lend his influence in the movement, entirely declined, saying, "It would be yielding great principles to faction, and that the time had come to test the strength of the Constitution and the government." An interview between Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay took place, but it failed to produce the intended result. Meantime the Pres-

President Jackson's determination to arrest Mr. Calhoun for treason.

ident, General Jackson, had determined that he would "have no negotiations, but would execute the laws." "He would admit of no farther delay, but was determined at once to take a decided course with Mr. Calhoun"—an arrest and trial for high treason being understood. Mr. Letcher, having discovered one night what was about to take place, went forthwith to Mr. Calhoun, found his way to him, though he had retired to bed, and informed him of his danger. "He was evidently disturbed."

Mr. Benton goes on to relate the incidents attending the eventual passage of the bill. Both Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun were compelled to accept it, with the amendments that had been attached, though both of them, under the form it now presented, had the utmost reluctance to do so. He adds that, "on an outside view of the measure, they appear as master spirits appeasing the storm they had raised; on the inside view they appear as subaltern agents dominated by the necessities of their condition, and providing for themselves instead of their country"—

The Compromise was forced by circumstances on both Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun.

Mr. Clay in saving the protective policy and preserving the support of the manufacturers, and Mr. Calhoun in securing himself from the perils of his position, and both in leaving themselves at liberty to act together in future against General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren.

In his resolute course to put down Mr. Calhoun's Nullification movement General Jackson found himself strengthened by the enthusiastic support of the people—even those who had been his opponents in the recent election vigorously sustained him. That support was unanimous in the North, and nearly so in the South. Virginia, indeed, sent a commissioner to South Carolina, and her governor expressed an intention of resisting the passage of troops through his state. Shortly before February 1st, the date appointed for carrying Nullification into effect, it was resolved at Charleston that inasmuch as measures were then pending in Congress contemplating such reduction of duties on imports as South Carolina had demanded, the execution of the nullifying ordinance and the consequent legislative acts should be postponed. The passage of the Compromise tariff by Congress took place toward the close of February, and Nullification was abandoned by South Carolina.

In his acts the President is universally sustained by the people.

South Carolina announces that the Congressional measures are satisfactory to her,

And recedes from Nullification.

General Jackson, however, deeply disapproved of the course that had been taken, being of opinion that the future prosperity and safety of the republic would have been better consulted had the promoters of Nullification been held to a strict account. He never ceased to regret that he had not brought Mr. Calhoun to trial for treason. There can be no doubt that the manner in which the trouble was closed exerted a powerful and encouraging influence on the later secession movements of South Carolina. Mr. Calhoun always asserted that the military at-

titude of that state had intimidated the national government.

Mr. Calhoun, who thus took the lead in the Nullification movement, and, indeed, may be considered as the author of Secession, was a South Carolinian by birth, but of Irish descent. At the age of twenty-nine he entered Congress. He promoted actively the war with England, the establishment of the United States Bank, internal improvements, and a protective tariff—that of 1816. During the presidency of Mr. Monroe he became Secretary of War, and in that capacity drew orders for General Jackson in the operations against the Seminoles. That general, headstrong and unbridled, was considered by Mr. Calhoun, in the seizure of Pensacola and other acts, to have violated his instructions, and to be worthy of being brought to trial. At that time those personages were regarded as among the more prominent future candidates for the Presidency—the one in civil, the other in military life. During Mr. Monroe's second term, a very influential portion of the party inclined to bring Mr. Calhoun forward for that great office; but eventually the preference was given to the general, Mr. Calhoun being nominated as Vice-President. No election for President, however, being made, the House of Representatives chose Mr. Adams. On the expiry of his term, the original intention was carried out, General Jackson being elected President, and Mr. Calhoun Vice-President.

In these movements we perceive the crisis of Mr. Calhoun's life. There can be no doubt that he felt very acutely the preference given to his military rival, and the bitterness between them was intensified by General Jackson's discovery of the course that had been pursued toward him in the matter of the Seminole War. Up to this time the general

The biography of
Mr. Calhoun.

His disappointed
expectations for
the Presidency.

supposed that Mr. Calhoun was his defender in the cabinet in that affair; now he found with surprise how completely he had been mistaken. Irascible and impetuous, it could not be otherwise than that he should become Mr. Calhoun's mortal enemy.

General Jackson's national popularity was so great that Mr. Calhoun saw the uselessness of attempting any rivalry. At this time he had abandoned many of his early views. Among other things, he had ceased to look with favor on a protective tariff; he had become a free-trader. Perhaps these changes led him insensibly to more important ones. He abandoned national ideas, and advocated state-rights. With a sentiment not unlike that imputed to Cæsar, he had rather be the first man in the Slave States than the second man in the Union.

Once satisfied that all farther hopes of national pre-eminence were at an end, he addressed himself with singular ability to the promotion of sectionalism. He furnished the basis of the South Carolina Exposition, and, by his letter to Governor Hamilton, led to the Nullification movement. He believed at this time that the South could be united on an anti-tariff resistance, and, though disappointed in the general result, always regarded his state as having substantially carried her point against the United States. Conscious of the intrinsic weakness of the Slave Question in view of the recent acts of Great Britain in the West Indies, and the general opinion of the civilized world, he was unwilling at first to jeopardize the institution, though it was quite certain that the South could be united upon it in a national controversy.

Massachusetts, at that time still intellectually colonial, was powerfully affected by the Abolition movement in England, and proceeded to flood the South with inflam-

matory publications. In accordance with the political views he now entertained, Mr. Calhoun asserted the right of each state to interpose and prevent their dissemination through the Post-office. On the presentation of abolition petitions to Congress, he would have had them rejected altogether. He brought about the annex-
And then resorts to the Slave Question. ation of Texas for the purpose of securing more slave territory. Clearly perceiving that the strength of the North lay in her population supplies, he denied the power of states to give a vote to aliens; and for the purpose of removing the scruples of conscientious persons in the South, he taught them that slavery is not only not an evil, but an absolute good, and the surest foundation for political institutions.

Thus thoroughly committed to the use of the Slave Question, and believing that the Union might without difficulty be divided upon it, he used every exertion to force the slavery issue on the North. Though at the time of the adoption of the Missouri Compromise he was in favor of it, his views had now so much changed that he promoted to the utmost its repeal. Having experienced the blighting of his early expectations through the military renown of General Jackson, he was thoroughly averse to the Mexican War. Such experiences as that of
He opposes the Mexican War. Mr. Calhoun will always make civilians in eminent positions unfriendly to foreign wars, and keep the republic at peace. A war brings at once into political prominence a host of successful soldiers.

Mr. Calhoun was not only a bitter opponent of the Wilmot Proviso, as might be expected, he was also the originator of the doctrine that the United States Constitution carried slavery with it into the Territories acquired by the Mexican War. With logical fidelity to the principles that were now guiding him, he sought to accomplish the organization of the Slave States ostensibly for

resisting Northern abolition, in reality for separation.

His project of a dual presidency. His remedy for the declining influence of the South was the establishment of a dual presidency, one President from the Free, the other from the Slave States. Not that his clear intellect for a moment regarded such a scheme as offering any permanency; he saw in it rather a ready and quiet means of insuring secession and final separation.

His biographers relate that, while he was yet a youth at Yale College, the president of that institution, struck with his singular merit, remarked that he had "ability enough to be President of the United States." Perhaps that incident gave a color to all his subsequent life. From the days of his early inclinations to the New England politicians for the purpose of breaking down the Virginia dynasty, which had become intolerable to all portions of the country, to the close of his life (1850), all his exertions were directed to the attainment of headship—national, if possible; if not, sectional. Conscious of his own powers, he looked with disdain upon the line of presidents who succeeded to Mr. Monroe.

From his literary remains, collected and published by Mr. Crallé, we perceive without difficulty how it was that Mr. Calhoun exerted so much influence in his native state. His ideas were in sympathy with her aspirations. They are expressed in simple and forcible language, with but little ornament. As was said by Mr. Butler in his eulogium upon him in the Senate, "He had the quality of inspiring confidence—the highest of earthly qualities." His virtuous private character. virtuous and just, he died, not wealthy, after forty years' responsible connection with the government.

The logical character of his life. The life of Mr. Calhoun, perhaps more truly than that of any other eminent American of his times, may be said to have been a strictly

logical one. When we compare his views in 1811, at his first appearance, with those at his death, how wide and how melancholy the difference! It is the decline of patriotism into secession. Not without interest do we observe the successive phases through which he passes; they manifest the pressure of exterior influences on an honorable but disappointed ambition.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

The South, finding it necessary to secure new states for the preservation of the balance of power in the Union, resolved on the annexation of Texas, an adjoining province of Mexico. It was seized by adventurers from the Slave States, who established it as an independent republic. It then applied for admission as a state into the Union, and, in spite of a strenuous opposition from the North, that measure was carried into effect.

GENERAL JACKSON, in a letter written in 1843, accused the administration of President Monroe of having voluntarily surrendered to Spain, at the time of the cession of Florida, all that fertile tract of country which, facing the Gulf of Mexico, is included between the Sabine and the Rio Grande. He said: "Soon after my election (to the Presidency), in 1829, it was made known to me by Mr. Erwin, formerly our minister at the court of Madrid, that while at that court he had laid the foundation of a treaty with Spain for the cession of the Floridas and the settlement of the boundary of Louisiana, fixing the western limit of the latter at the Rio Grande, agreeably to the understanding of France; that he had written home to our government for powers to complete and sign this negotiation; but that, instead of receiving such authority, the negotiation was

General Jackson's letter respecting the boundary of Louisiana.

He states that Texas had been needlessly surrendered to Spain.

taken out of his hands and transferred to Washington, and a new treaty was there concluded, by which the Sabine, and not the Rio Grande, was recognized and established as the boundary of Louisiana. Finding that these statements were true, and that our government did really give up that important territory when it was at its option to retain it, I was

filled with astonishment. The right to the territory was obtained from France. Spain stood ready to acknowledge it to the Rio Grande; and yet the authority asked by our minister was not only withheld, but, in lieu of it, a limit was adopted which stripped us of the whole of the vast country lying between the two rivers." He added: "I could not but feel that the surrender of so vast and important a territory was attributable to an erroneous estimate of the tendency of our institutions, in which there was mingled somewhat of jealousy as to the rising greatness of the South and West." It must, however, be remarked, that this opinion seems not to be justified when we remember that the alleged surrender was made by a Southern President, and that the attempt to purchase Texas, presently to be alluded to, was made in 1827 by Mr. Adams, who was from the North.

Texas, the country in question, under these circumstances became a part of Mexico. In 1820, It had become a portion of Mexico. Moses Austin, a resident of Missouri, obtained the privilege of settling in it, under the plea of being a Roman Catholic persecuted by Protestants. Dying prematurely, his son, Stephen F. Austin, carried out his intention, and thus the Americans obtained a foothold in the country.

Attempts were now made by the American government, in 1827 and 1829, to purchase Texas from Mexico. They were ineffectual. It was obvious, however, that the possession of it was absolutely necessary to the South, in order that her system might have freedom of expansion westwardly, and an equipoise be maintained with the North in Congress. Abortive attempts to purchase it. Adventurers from the neighboring Slave States were therefore encouraged by the prevailing public sentiment to emigrate to it, with the intention of detaching it forcibly from Mexico. That Its possession had become important to the slave system of the South.

Southern adventurers settle in it. republic, torn by internal dissensions, was so little able to counteract their movements, that in 1836, when the independence of Texas was proclaimed, the resistance that could be made was altogether insignificant. Nevertheless, the Texans were defeated at the Alamo and Goliad, and those of them who were taken prisoners of war were atrociously murdered in cold blood. At the San Jacinto they were avenged, the Mexicans being surprised while passing the river, and not only totally defeated, but Santa Anna, their commander, the President of their republic, taken prisoner. The character of this conflict may be understood from the statement that the Mexican killed were 630, the wounded 208.

The President of Mexico, resisting, is taken prisoner, and compelled to acknowledge its independence. Santa Anna, at the mercy of his conqueror, General Houston, who was a Virginian by birth, was thus constrained in his extremity to acknowledge the independence of Texas. Hereupon he was liberated, and the new republic established in October, 1836, with a Constitution modeled on that of the United States, and with General Houston inaugurated as its first President. The United States forthwith acknowledged its independence.

The United States acknowledge its independence. In less than a year application was made to the United States government to receive the new republic into the Union, and, though this was at the time declined, it was obvious that the question was destined to play a most important part in American civil policy. The North saw in the whole movement a predetermined attempt at the extension of slavery, and in the invasive emigration, the revolt, the proclamation of independence, the temporary organization of a republic, and the application to be admitted into the Union as a state, successive steps of a conspiracy,

It makes application to be admitted into the Union.

The annexation is at first declined. which would, through the creation of half a dozen or more new states, give a preponderance to the slave power in the republic.

Mr. Van Buren, who had declined the overtures for the annexation of Texas, was succeeded in the Presidency by General Harrison, who, dying almost immediately after his inauguration, was followed by the Vice-President, Mr. Tyler, a Virginian, and a supporter of extreme Southern principles. The annexation project was now steadily pressed forward, but, owing to the difficult circumstances under which Mr. Tyler was placed, and dissensions arising in the party that had elected him, nothing decisive could be done until 1844, when Mr. Upshur, the Secretary of State, being accidentally killed by the bursting of a cannon, Mr. Calhoun succeeded him. A treaty of annexation was at once arranged, but, on being submitted to the Senate, was rejected.

It is made a test question in the following Presidential election. Undiscouraged by this result, the South at once determined to make annexation the touchstone in the coming Presidential election. The Legislatures of several of the Cotton States began to move vigorously in the matter: that of Mississippi declared, adopting the report of a committee of its body, that "the committee feel authorized to say that slavery is cherished by our constituents as the very palladium of their prosperity and happiness, and, whatever ignorant fanatics may elsewhere conjecture, the committee are fully assured, upon the most diligent observation and reflection on the subject, that the South does not possess within her limits a blessing with which the affections of her people are so closely entwined and so completely enfibred;" "the Northern States have no interests of their own which require any special safeguards for their defense, save only their domestic manufactures, and God knows they have already received pro-

The Mississippi Resolutions,

tection from government on a most liberal scale, under which encouragement they have improved and flourished beyond example. The South has very peculiar interests to preserve, already violently assailed and boldly threatened. Your committee are fully persuaded that this protection to her best interests will be afforded by the annexation of Texas; an equipoise of influence in the halls of Congress will be secured, which will furnish us with a permanent guarantee of protection."

The slave power insists on annexation.

In the same spirit Mr. Wise, of Virginia, said, in the House of Representatives: "True, if Iowa be added on the one side, Florida will be added on the other, but there the equation must stop. Let one more Northern state be added, and the equilibrium is gone—gone forever. The balance of interests is gone, the safeguard of American prosperity, of the American Constitution, of the American Union, vanished into thin air. This must be the inevitable result, unless, by a treaty with Mexico, the South can add more weight to her end of the lever. Let the South stop at the Sabine, while the North may spread unchecked beyond the Rocky Mountains, and the Southern scale must kick the beam."

But these movements did not take place without resistance. Ex-President John Quincy Adams, and other members of Congress, issued an address, in which they said that the annexation of Texas was being forced forward "by that large portion of the country interested in domestic slavery and the slave-trade;" that "it was intended, by the admission of new Slave States, to secure undue ascendancy for the slaveholding power in the government, and rivet that power beyond all redemption; that, with these views, settlements had been made in the province by citizens of the United States, difficulties fomented with the Mexican

Views of ex-President John Quincy Adams on the subject.

government, a revolt brought about, and an independent government declared; that the attempts of Mexico to reduce her revolted province to obedience have proved unsuccessful because of the unlawful aid of designing and interested citizens of the United States; and that the direct and indirect co-operation of our own government, with similar views, is not the less certain and demonstrable.” “The open enlistment of troops in several states of this Union in aid of the Texan revolution; the intrusion of an American army by the order of the President under a false pretense, but in reality in behalf of the insurgents; the entire neglect of government to prevent unwarrantable aggressions of our own citizens, enlisted, organized, and officered in our own borders, and marched in arms into the territory of a friendly government; the premature recognition of the independence of Texas; the open avowal of the Texans themselves; the frequent and anxious negotiations of our own government; the resolutions of various states of the Union; the numerous declarations of members of Congress; the tone of the Southern press, as well as the direct application of the Texan government, make it impossible for any man to doubt that annexation and the formation of several slaveholding states were originally the policy and design of the slaveholding states and the executive of the nation. Their objects were the perpetuation of slavery and the continual ascendancy of the slave power.”

It is denounced as
a conspiracy justifying
a dissolution
of the Union.

“We hesitate not to say that annexation effected by any act or proceeding of the federal government, or any of its departments, would be identical with dissolution. It would be a violation of our national compact, its objects, designs, and the great elementary principles which entered into its formation, of a character so deep and fundamental, and would be an attempt to eternize an insti-

tution and a power of a nature so unjust in themselves, so injurious to the interests and abhorrent to the feelings of the people of the Free States, as, in our opinion, not only inevitably to result in a dissolution of the Union, but fully to justify it; and we not only assert that the people of the Free States ought not to submit to it, but we say, with confidence, that they would not submit to it."

The reader will here remark that threats of a dissolution of the Union were resorted to by the North as well as by the South when it suited the purpose. Mr. Quincy, in 1811, had indulged in such menaces. The Hartford Convention was suspected of preparing to carry them into execution. They are brought forward again in these Texan movements.

But the South was resolved to consummate her intention, and that without delay. Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Clay, the prominent candidates of the two opposing parties for the Presidency, were compelled to make known their views previously to the meeting of the nominating Conventions. They had a private understanding with each other, and mutually agreed upon discountenancing the annexation scheme. Mr. Van Buren pointed out that the annexation of Texas would, in all human probability, draw after it a war with Mexico, and asked, "Can it be expedient, under such circumstances, to attempt it? Can we hope to stand perfectly justified in the eyes of mankind for entering into it, more especially if its commencement is to be preceded by the appropriation to our uses of the Territory?"

Mr. Clay said in reference to reannexation: "It is therefore perfectly idle and ridiculous, if not dishonorable, to talk of resuming our title to Texas as if we had never parted with it. We can no more do that than Spain can resume Florida, France Lou-

Determination of
the South to secure
Texas.

Opinions of Mr.
Van Buren.

Opinions of Mr.
Clay.

isiana, or Great Britain the thirteen colonies now comprising a part of the United States." "I conceive that no motive for the acquisition of foreign territory could be more unfortunate, or pregnant with more fatal consequences, than that of obtaining it for the purpose of strengthening one part against another part of the common confederacy. Such a principle, put into practical operation, would menace the existence, if it did not certainly sow the seeds of a dissolution of the Union." "I consider the annexation of Texas at this time without the consent of Mexico as a measure compromising the national character; involving us certainly in a war with Mexico, probably with other foreign powers; dangerous to the integrity of the Union, inexpedient in the present financial condition of the country, and not called for by any general expression of public opinion."

Mr. Benton, in a speech in the Senate, declared: "I wash my hands of all attempts to dismember the Mexican republic by seizing (under the designation of Texas) her dominions in New Mexico—Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas. The treaty, in all that relates to the boundary of the Rio Grande, is an act of unparalleled outrage on Mexico. It is the seizure of two thousand miles of her territory without a word of explanation with her, and by virtue of a treaty with Texas to which she is no party."

In vain, when it was too late, Mr. Clay endeavored to recede from his position; his attempt only served to make the matter worse, and cost him the support of the anti-slavery party, whose votes would have elected him.

As to Mr. Van Buren, he did not so much as receive a nomination, the Democratic party putting him aside, and selecting a comparatively unknown person—Mr. Polk. It declared its measures to be "the reoccupation of Oregon

Opinions of Mr.
Benton.

Mr. Polk elected
President for the
purpose of carrying
annexation into ef-
fect.

and reannexation of Texas at the earliest possible period."

But, decisive as was this action, the Annexationists would not so much as endure the delay until Mr. Polk's inauguration. On the assembling of Congress, a dispatch

Mr. Calhoun's
French dispatch.

from Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of State, to Mr. King, the minister at Paris, was laid before it. In this the attention of the French government is drawn to the advantages that would arise from the proposed annexation in strengthening slavery in the United States, and thereby thwarting the intentions of England, whose fanaticism Mr. Calhoun declared was intent on reducing America to the ruined condition of her own West India possessions. On December 19th a joint resolution was introduced into the House of Representatives providing for annexation. Attempts were made to

Abortive attempt
to secure a portion
of Texas for free-
dom.

secure half the country for free labor, the other half being resigned to slavery, by a line commencing between Galveston and Matagorda Bay, and running northwestwardly, so as to divide the Territory as nearly as possible into two equal parts. In the portion lying to the southwest it was proposed that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except for the punishment of crime. This proposition was, however, defeated. In due time the joint resolution went to the Senate, and was there amended by the adoption of what was known as Mr. Walker's resolutions. Thus modified, it was returned to the House and concurred in. As the measure eventually stood, it made suitable provision for the mode in which the "State of Texas" should be admitted into the Union, the disposal of its munitions of war, public property, unappropriated lands, debts. On the main point it was arranged that new states, not exceeding four in number, in addition to Texas proper, should subsequently be

made out of its territory, those lying south of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$ to be admitted with or without slavery, as their people might desire; in those north of that line, slavery to be prohibited.

Mr. Tyler, on the last day of his term of office, unwilling to leave to his successor, Mr. Polk, the honor of completing this great Southern measure, dispatched a swift messenger to Texas; her assent was duly secured, and the Mexican province became a state of the Union.

But the circumstances and conditions under which this had been done left a profound dissatisfaction in the North. The portion of territory ceded to freedom did not belong to Texas; her boundary did not approach within 200 miles of the Missouri Compromise line. The South had therefore secured the whole of the new acquisition; she had seized the substance, and had deluded the North with a shadow.

President Tyler precipitately carries out its annexation,

And the slave power completely accomplishes its object.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WAR WITH MEXICO, AND ACQUISITION OF CALIFORNIA.

The annexation of Texas was resisted by Mexico, and war declared by the United States. Mexico was invaded, its metropolis captured, and a treaty of peace extorted. A discussion arose as to the condition of the acquired territory. The Wilmot Proviso proposed to exclude slavery from it; the South insisted that the Constitution of the United States carried slavery into it.

Discovery of gold in California, its political and social consequences. The dispute respecting the acquired Territory was closed by the Compromise of 1850. Indignation was excited in the Free States by the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and ominous forebodings were entertained as to the political tendencies of the Supreme Court of the United States.

THE annexation of Texas accomplished, General Taylor, the United States commander in the Southwest, received orders to advance to the Rio Grande. Such was the impoverished and distracted condition of Mexico that she apparently contemplated no retaliation for the injury she had sustained, and, had the American army remained at the Nueces, a conflict might perhaps have been avoided. But, on Taylor's approaching the Rio Grande, a combat ensued at Palo Alto with Arista, the Mexican commander, who crossed over that stream. It ended in the defeat of the Mexicans, and the next day another engagement took place at Resaca de la Palma, with the same result. These actions eventually assumed considerable political importance. They were among the causes of General Taylor's subsequent elevation to the Presidency.

As soon as intelligence of what had occurred reached Washington, President Polk, forgetting that the author of a war is not he who begins it, but he who has made it necessary, addressed a special message to Congress announcing that the Mexicans "had

The annexation of Texas brings on a war with Mexico.

Its declaration by the United States.

at last invaded our territory, and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil." Congress at once (May 13th, 1846) passed an act providing money and men. Its preamble stated, "Whereas, by the act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that country and the United States, be it enacted, etc.

As long previously as 1843, Mr. Bocanegra, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations, had formally notified the American government that the annexation of Texas would inevitably lead to war. General Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, in a note to Mr. Upshur, the Secretary of State, said that, "in the name of his nation, and now for them, he protests, in the most solemn manner, against such an aggression; and he moreover declares, by express order of his government, that, on sanction being given by the executive of the Union to the incorporation of Texas into the United States, he will consider his mission ended, seeing that, as the Secretary of State will have learned, the Mexican government is resolved to declare war as soon as it receives intimation of such an act."

The responsibility
for this war rests
upon the United
States.

War being thus provoked by the American government, General Scott received orders (November 18th, 1846) to take command of the expedition intended for the invasion of Mexico.

Invasion of Mexico,
capture of Vera
Cruz, Cerro Gordo.

It was not, however, until March 7th of the following year that his forces appeared before Vera Cruz. Twelve thousand men were landed in a single evening, the Mexicans making no resistance. Through the shifting sands and thickets of chaparral siege-lines were completed, and in fifteen days the place surrendered, five thousand prisoners and five hundred pieces of cannon being taken. Scott now commenced his march to Mexico along the national road, through a beautiful country abounding in magnificent scenery. At a distance on the left was the

great volcano Orizaba, its white peaks entering the region of eternal snow. Approaching the heights of Cerro Gordo, he found that they were occupied by the Mexican General Santa Anna with 15,000 men. The Americans cut a road through the forest round the base of the mountain, and in the darkness of the night dragged cannon by main force up the precipices, thus gaining unobserved the rear of the Mexicans. In the attack that ensued the position was forced, 3000 prisoners and 43 guns being captured. Resuming their advance, the Castle of Perote was taken, and the town of Puebla occupied.

The march to
Puebla.

Re-enforcements
received, and the
march to Mexico
resumed.

By these operations, Scott's army, on its entrance into Puebla, was reduced to 4290 men, with thirteen pieces of artillery. Too weak to advance farther, and, indeed, unable to maintain his communications with Vera Cruz, the American general was compelled to remain here until August 7th, waiting for re-enforcements. By that time his strength had increased to nearly 11,000 men. It was not the plan of the Mexicans to resist him step by step. Points at which that might have been done advantageously were neglected. The invading army, finding no force in front, marched through the Pass of Rio Frio — a pass which takes its name from an ice-cold streamlet of crystal clearness coming down from the mountain snows, and where the beetling rocks overhang and command the road. Here, though within the tropic, so great is the elevation — ten thousand feet above the level of the sea — that the aspect of Nature is like that of gelid climes, and the air is chilled by the snows on Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, volcanoes that rise to a height of eighteen thousand feet. Scott continued his march unmolested past the ruins of Cholula, in the time of the Aztecs a great and venerable city. The crest of the mountains gained, the Valley of Mexico lay at his feet.

This valley is formed by a divergence of the grand chain of the Cordilleras into two branches, which reunite again toward the north, and embrace in their porphyritic curve an inclosure sixty miles in length north and south, forty miles wide east and west. The water descending from the mountain-sides collects in a series of lakes, there being no drainage outlet except through an insignificant

brook. The city of Mexico, with its steeples
Position of the city. and domes, is in the midst of the valley, surrounded with picturesque fields and beautiful country seats. The snowy peaks of the neighboring volcanoes detain the departing rays of the evening sun, and aid in making the place a cool Paradise in the torrid zone.

To avoid El Penon, and other strong works in front, occupied in force by the Mexicans, the Americans now left the national road, along which they had thus far advanced, and cutting, as they had done at Cerro Gordo, a new route beyond the Lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco, gained the Acapulco road. A night movement enabled them to throw three brigades into the rear of a strong opposing force at the hamlet of Contreras. "But what

Actions at Contreras, Churubusco. a horrible night!" says one of the officers. "There we lay, too tired to eat, too wet to sleep, in the middle of that muddy road, officers and men side by side, with a heavy rain pouring down upon us, the officers without blankets or overcoats, and the men worn out with fatigue. About midnight the rain was so heavy that the streams in the road flooded us, and there we stood, crowded together, drenched and benumbed, waiting till daylight."

But when daylight on the 20th of August did come, the Mexican position was stormed, and, after a conflict of seventeen minutes, was carried. San Antonio was captured, the fortified post of Churubusco was assaulted and gained, and the causeways leading to the city of Mexico

opened. In these operations the American loss in killed, wounded, and missing was 1053. The Mexican loss was four times as great, and thirty-seven guns were taken.

Delayed by an armistice and abortive negotiations for peace, it was not until September 7th that Chapultepec. Cap-
ture of Mexico. Scott renewed active operations for the possession of Chapultepec, a porphyritic rock commanding the city of Mexico. The Aztec princes in old times, and the Spanish viceroys more recently, had made their residence on this charming spot. It was now the site of a military college. It is a hill 150 feet in height, surmounted by a castle with thick stone walls, the wings, bastions, parapets, redoubts, and batteries being all very strongly constructed.

Two formidable outworks, Molino del Rey and Casa de Mata, were carried, though with very severe loss. The castle itself was taken by storm, its ditches having been bridged, its walls scaled. On September 14th, 1847, the flag of the United States was hoisted on the national palace of Mexico, and Scott made his triumphant entry at the head of less than 6000 troops.

In the treaty that ensued, New Mexico and Upper Cal-
The treaty of
peace. ifornia were ceded to the United States, and the lower Rio Grande, from its mouth to El Paso, was taken as the boundary of Texas. On the other hand, the United States agreed to pay fifteen millions of dollars in five annual installments. The claims of American citizens against Mexico, not exceeding three and a quarter millions of dollars, were also assumed.

Such were the results of the military operations. Meanwhile President Polk, foreseeing the issue, had made application to Congress for money to be placed at his disposal with a view of obtaining from Mexico territory beyond the Rio Grande. At once arose the question which had already so frequently given origin to perilous dissen-

The question of freedom or slavery in the acquired territory at once arises.

sion, What should be the character of the new Territory, free or slave? The North was deeply offended by the manner in which she had been dealt with in the arrangement of the Texan territory, and now applied to the South her own arguments. The South had said that, in the case of the Northwestern Territory, the local law of Virginia, to which that Territory was affirmed to belong, dedicated it to slavery, and that, in a similar manner, local law established slavery in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida. But Mexico had long previously abolished slavery, and therefore, by her local law, all territory acquired from her must necessarily be free. On the other hand, the South,

Mr. Calhoun's doctrine in behalf of slavery.

accommodating herself to the changed circumstances of the case, at the suggestion of Mr. Calhoun, affirmed that the United States Constitution carried with it slavery into the new Territory.

The feeling and purpose of the North were plainly seen in an amendment to the bill, making the pecuniary provision asked for by Mr. Polk. It was offered by Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, whence the designation "Wil-

The Wilmot Proviso.

mot Proviso," under which it is known. It was as follows: "Provided that, as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty that may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime whereof the party shall first be duly convicted." The bill, however, failed.

Before the next meeting of Congress the Presidential election had occurred, and to the causes of dissatisfaction which the Northern Democrats had with their allies in

the Slave States was added the fact that eight out of fifteen of those states had voted for General Taylor, the Whig candidate. On the question of the organization of the new Territories being resumed, motions were offered to the effect that slavery should be excluded, and that the selling of slaves in the District of Columbia should be prohibited. But, though an attempt was made by the South to fasten the organization of the Territories of New Mexico and California to the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill, Congress eventually adjourned without having come to any determination.

On General Taylor's accession to the Presidency (1849) the organization of California could be no longer postponed. Oregon, after an attempt on the part of the South to compel the recognition that the Missouri Compromise line extended across the entire continent, had become a free Territory. The discovery of gold in California had led to its rapid settlement. New Mexico already possessed a population of sixty thousand.

Under these circumstances, General Taylor, having sent an agent to California with a view to its organization as a state, brought the subject before Congress in his annual message, announcing that the people of that Territory and of New Mexico would shortly apply for admission as a state, and recommending their application to favorable consideration. His intention was to leave the question of social condition, free or slave, to be settled by the inhabitants themselves, in this recognizing the principle of popular sovereignty.

In correspondence with these movements, a Convention for the formation of a state Constitution was held in California. It determined on the prohibition of slavery, but, as might have been expected when the application for

admission came before Congress, it encountered resistance from the South. Eventually, however, after much discussion, a general plan of compromise suggested by Mr. Clay was adopted. It has attained celebrity under the designation of "the Compromise of 1850."

In the mean time California was rapidly settled. A workman, building a saw-mill in January, 1848, discovered particles of gold in the mud; a farther search revealed the fact that Eldorado was found at last. Forthwith a stream of population set in, first from the adjoining Mexican countries, then from Oregon and the Sandwich Islands, the circle extending as the rumors were confirmed, and Peru, Chili, Australia, and even Asia becoming involved. The excitement in the United States rose to a mania. Early in 1849 multitudes made the journey across the continent, encountering the great desert, and forcing their way over the Rocky Mountains. Very soon 4000 horsemen and 9000 wagons had gone through the Pass. So great were the perils and privations that the track was marked with skeletons. Some of the adventurers, preferring to encounter the dangers of the sea rather than the treachery of the Indians and the hardships of the land, went round Cape Horn. A new form of sailing-ship—the clipper—was invented to meet the need. Others tried the pestilential passage of the Isthmus of Panama. In eighteen months one hundred thousand persons had gone from the United States. The Bay of San Francisco was all alive, and where this beautiful city now stands was an extemporaneous collection of shanties and tents, bowers and huts. Since the days when all the human race undertook to build the Tower of Babel, never has there been such a confused gabble of strange tongues. People from every nation under the

Discovery of gold
in California.

Influx of adven-
turers at the gold
diggings.

sun swarmed together—some trafficking, some digging, many gambling. Ships were left sailorless in the harbor; their crews—sometimes, it is said, with their officers at their head—had run off to the mines. Occasions are mentioned in which captains of singular virtue had handcuffed or fettered their men to keep them. Judges stealthily left the bench to try their luck. The attorney general of the king of the Sandwich Islands joined in the rush. Every man was all things to himself; the hiring of labor was out of the question: the wages demanded were often from thirty to fifty dollars for a single day.

Organization of the
anarchy.

Yet, as if by enchantment, this clamorous anarchy ceased, organization ensued, streets were laid out, houses built, stores erected, wharves made, roads constructed, municipal and state institutions established. It may be said that San Francisco was built over and over again, for it was repeatedly ravaged by fire. Not without difficulty, however, did law assert its supremacy in a population consisting of thousands of adult males, with scarcely any women. The New York speculators found to their cost that such a community afforded but an indifferent market for the laces and rich silks they sent. It is said that pianos were actually sold for cupboards, there being no other demand for them. Expensive furniture came to unwonted uses in the tents and bowers of these canvas and leafy cities.

Effect of the influx
of wealth on the
Atlantic cities.

Nor was this profusion and extravagance limited to California. New York, into which the gold of San Francisco flowed, was infected by the example. Persons who had been steeped in poverty rose to affluence. They exchanged shanties for palatial residences; the homeliest clothing for the latest Parisian fashions; coarse crockery for silver plate. They brought vulgarity into the higher walks of life. In 1851, so frightful in California was the social condition—the

Frightful social revolutions in California.
A vigilance committee forcibly secures order.

 courts derided; the constabulary without power; assassinations and incendiary fires occurring in all directions, the perpetrators of these atrocities openly controlling elections, appointments to office, and the administration of justice—that the more respectable citizens had to take matters into their own hands, and, forming a vigilance committee, which administered rude and prompt justice by hanging, flogging, and expelling the more atrocious miscreants, secured better order for a season.

Disturbance in the relative value of gold and silver.

 From the report of the committee to examine a bill relative to a monetary Convention between France, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland, it appears that in France “the legal difference in the value of gold and silver had been in the proportion of 1 to 15½, and had so continued for nearly half a century. Silver was the usual money; gold, in small quantities, was at a premium. About the year 1835, by reason of improvements in refining, the five-franc silver pieces of the earlier coinage were hunted up and melted, to extract the gold they contained; yet the relation between silver and gold continued the same. But the discoveries of gold in Russia, California, and Australia between the years 1846 and 1850, brought gold abundantly into the European markets. The metal fell in value, and five-franc silver pieces were more than ever sought for. The government (French) observed this, and a committee was appointed in 1850 to investigate the facts. M. Thiers was its chairman. The political troubles of the time, however, prevented action. The difference of value of the two metals increased, and speculators began to buy up the smaller silver coins. Two other circumstances hastened the disappearance of silver from circula-

tion in France—the loss of silk-worms and the American Civil War, which compelled the purchase of silk and cotton from the East to keep the factories going; and, as silver is more valued in those distant lands, it was necessary to pay for those imports in silver, as France had no produce to exchange for them. There was yet another reason to make silver more valuable—the improvement in the circumstances of the laboring classes, which increased the necessity of small coin for change. A committee in 1857, and another in 1861, were commissioned to investigate the subject. It was shown that the yield of silver and gold from America, from the time of its discovery to 1846, was as two to one, whereas the yield is now three of gold to one of silver. It was also shown that the five-franc pieces had almost entirely passed out of circulation; that the last issues of forty-three millions of francs in small coin, made since January 1st, 1856, were immediately absorbed by speculation.”

Although this committee expressed the opinion that there might be a great reflux of silver from Asia by reason of the sale of European manufactures, it is much more likely that a recovery of the equilibrium between the two metals, if accomplished at all, will be, as I have already remarked (page 133), through the successful working of the great silver deposits of the United States, and those of Mexico under American auspices.

The chief features of the Compromise of 1850 were a
The Compromise
of 1850. pledge that Congress would faithfully execute the compact with Texas respecting the formation of new states out of her territory; the immediate admission of California into the Union; the establishment of New Mexico and Utah as Territories without the Wilmot Proviso—they were to embrace all the territory recently acquired from Mexico not contained within

the boundaries of California; a pecuniary grant to Texas in consideration of the cession of certain territorial claims by her; more effective provision for the securing of fugitive slaves. It abstained from the abolishing of slavery in the District of Columbia, but prohibited the slave-trade therein.

The sum agreed upon to be paid to the State of Texas in virtue of this compromise was ten millions of dollars. Doubtless that had much to do with the passage of the whole measure. In

Dissatisfaction respecting the money to be paid to Texas.

the North it was denounced as the first instance known in the history of the republic of resorting to a bribe; it was affirmed that the territory supposed to be relinquished by Texas had never belonged to her; that it was detached from Mexico by the forces, and then bought by the money of the Union; nor was the dissatisfaction lessened by the concession for the recapture of fugitive slaves in the Free States. This dissatisfaction became indignation when the resulting law was carried into effect. It denied to the fugitive the right of trial by jury; it refused to admit his testimony as evidence; it commanded all good citizens to aid and assist in the prompt arrest of

Indignation arises in the Free States at the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law.

the slave. Cases soon occurred which made a profound public impression. A negro was shot dead in the act of attempting to flee from the officer who had arrested him; a mulatto leaped into the Susquehanna, exclaiming that he would rather be drowned than taken alive: he was shot in the head while attempting to screen himself in the water, but eventually escaped through the intervention of the by-standers; a mulatto woman, only twenty-three years of age, overtaken in her flight through Ohio, in her extremity cut the throat of one of her children, a little girl who was nearly white, and then attempted to kill the other two. When secured and carried before the

marshal, she avowed her determination to destroy them and then herself, if she were sent back into slavery. No wonder that the mothers in the free West became fanatical abolitionists! It was affirmed that in one year after

Effect of this sentiment on the elections of 1856.

the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, more fugitive slaves were seized than in the preceding sixty years. Surprise has sometimes been expressed that the vote for the anti-slavery candidate for the Presidency rose from 152,000 in 1852 to more than a million and a quarter (1,341,264) in 1856. There are occasions, however, when men renounce all considerations of political expediency, and are guided by the promptings of the heart. And this was one of them.

The case of Dred Scott added not a little to the diffusion of those sentiments. This negro had brought a suit for his freedom in one of the courts of Missouri, and had obtained a judgment in his favor. A higher court of that state reversed the decision, and an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, the case being tried in 1854.

The case of the negro, Dred Scott. Decision of the Supreme Court.

It was not so much the hardship under which Dred Scott suffered, as the decision of the court, delivered by Judge Taney, the Chief Justice of the United States, that arrested public attention. This denied to any person who was a slave, whose ancestors were imported into this country and sold as slaves, any right to sue in a court of the United States; it considered them as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had no rights or privileges but such as the government might grant them; it affirmed that it was not the intention of the framers of the Declaration of Independence that its principles should apply to the African race—an unhappy race separated from the white by an indelible mark, and by laws long before established, and never thought of or spoken of except as property. It farther declared that the Missouri

Compromise was unconstitutional, and denied the right of Congress to exclude slavery from any Territory.

This decision gave rise in the Free States to the most serious reflections on the political powers of the Supreme Court. It was obvious that the policy and condition of the republic might, through it, be controlled by one man, and that public opinion and Congressional action on the most momentous national affairs might pass for nothing, or be overruled. The organization of the court admitted the possibility of that result. It was affirmed that the decision in Dred Scott's case not only showed how sectional considerations might control universal justice, but that there actually were no solid foundations on which the republic could rest, and hence no security for the nation so long as there were thus the means of subverting long recognized principles of public policy. There were many persons who foresaw in the ominous action of this court that it might be in future times an instrument of ruin to the nation.

Ominous forebodings of future evils to the nation from that court.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA STRUGGLE.

The tide of Northern emigration reached the country of the Kansas and Nebraska. Alarm of the South at the appropriation of those regions by Freedom. It attempted a settlement of them in the interests of Slavery, but was resisted by the New England Aid Societies. A dreadful social condition arose in Kansas from the ensuing conflict, but the struggle ended in favor of the Free Settlers. This struggle presents the transition epoch of the conflict between the North and South. It closes the period of Congressional or peaceable Action, and introduces that of Violence and War.

THE country lying to the west of the slave state Missouri and the free state Iowa, and with them forming the middle portion of the incline which descends from the Rocky Mountains to the Mississippi River, is for the most part drained by the branches of two great streams—the Kansas on the south and the Nebraska on the north. This region can not vie in agricultural capability with the rich lands lower down the valley. The annual fall of rain is in greatly diminished quantity, and uncertain in its intervals.

Its northwest corner possesses, however, great topographical importance. It presents one of the gateways to the Pacific coast—a depression in the chain of the Rocky Mountains known as the South Pass. To this portal the North Fork of the Nebraska or Platte River approaches. It is the natural passage to the Great Salt Lake, to Utah—the Mormon country—and to the Pacific.

Leaving the mouth of the Kansas, where the elevation is about seven hundred feet above the sea, and making his way through Nebraska to the South Pass, distant in a straight line more than eight hundred miles, the traveler, as he ascends the incline, sees

The country of the Kansas and Nebraska.

Aspect of Nature in it.

in the topography and vegetation the future of that country. Though the banks of the streams may be belted with cottonwood, and the prairie covered with roses and sunflowers, the cactus soon marks out an increasing aridity. For want of better fuel, the evening encampment, imitating the Tartars on the steppes of Asia, makes its dull-burning fire of bois de vache—dried animal excrement. Through a valley as fragrant and beautiful as a flower-garden, the Nebraska goes down to its confluence with the Missouri. Its affluents in many places have raised their beds from three to ten feet above the surface. At Fort Laramie an elevation of nearly four thousand five hundred feet is attained. From that point eastwardly are immense timberless prairies, over which range herds of buffalo, antelopes, and deer. Indians in picturesque groups, armed with bows and long spears, and mounted on wild horses from the Arkansas Plains, ride over the waterless sands. In the opposite direction westwardly all is sterile and frightful. The rich grasses that flourished low down the incline are here replaced by odoriferous plants, with dry, pointed, and shrunk leaves. The country looks as if it had been swept by fire; it has a dull, ash-colored hue of desolation. Here and there, vapor issuing from hot springs condenses into clouds in the cold morning air, betraying the still unextinguished volcanic powers beneath. The prairie-dog, the burrowing owl, the rattlesnake, are found consorting together. In the mountain streams the industrious beaver is busy constructing his dam. At an altitude of seven thousand four hundred and ninety feet above the sea the South Pass through the Rocky Mountains is gained. Fremont describes its gentle ascent as like that of the Capitol Hill at Washington. Romantic scenery—mountains, cascades, grotesque rocks resembling chimneys, and domes, and minarets, columns of eddying

Its Flora, Fauna,
and romantic
scenery.

and drifting sand, that sway in the wind—is met with in all directions. So majestic is the wild grandeur that even the half-civilized hunters are awe-stricken. They call the cleft through which the current of the Sweetwater forces its way the Devil's Gate. In this elevated region are the head waters of four of the great rivers of the continent—the Colorado, the Columbia, the Missouri, the Nebraska. The highest peaks of the culminating ridge rise above the limit of eternal snow.

It contains the head waters of four great rivers.

Diminished luxuriance of vegetation, depending on insufficient rain, is an indication that Kansas can never compete, as an agricultural state, with the rich alluvial countries below. In Colorado and New Mexico, indeed throughout the entire range of the Rocky Mountains, are probably the richest gold and silver deposits in the world. Kansas and Nebraska, therefore, separate the agricultural life of the East from the mining life of the West. Even had the South succeeded in reversing the result of the struggle for the possession of the former state, had she been able to send ten thousand negroes into it as she desired, it would have been of no avail. The condition of Nature is here adverse to the slave system. Here, if any where, apply those truths to which Mr. Webster referred when he said,

Its position between the agricultural and mining states.

in the United States Senate, “As to California and New Mexico, I hold slavery to be excluded from those Territories by a law even superior to that which admits and sanctions it in Texas—the law of Nature, of physical geography—the law of the formation of the earth. That law settles forever, with a strength beyond all terms of human enactment, that slavery can not exist in California and New Mexico. Those countries are Asiatic in their formation and scenery. They are composed of vast ridges of mountains of great height,

It is naturally unsuited to slavery.

with broken crests and deep valleys. The sides of those mountains are entirely barren; their tops are capped by perennial snow. What is there that could, by any possibility, induce any body to go there with slaves? I have, therefore, to say, in this respect also, that that country is fixed for freedom to as many persons as shall ever live in it; and I will say farther, that if a resolution or a bill were now before us to provide a Territorial government for New Mexico, I would not vote to put any prohibition in it whatever. Such a prohibition would be idle as respects any effect it would have upon the Territory; and I would not take pains uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of Nature, nor to re-enact the will of God."

This influence of Nature on man is discernible in all the population of the interior of the continent. It has not escaped the observation of intelligent foreigners that, while the inhabitants of the Atlantic border are still intellectually but little removed from a colonial condition, deriving many of their ideas and many of their opinions from Europe, "the true American is found in the Great Valley. He has no susceptibility for European appreciation or criticism; he looks on it with indifference or disdain." "He is, and is determined to be, the citizen of a great republic. He despises useless people and mental idleness." He has no conception of individual superiority except as based on personal merit. Childlike in his disposition, he is prone to exaggeration. In him Individualism is carried to its extreme; yet, as if in singular contradiction, he is intensely patriotic. Vast prairies covered by the unbroken dome of the sky, and navigable rivers all converging to a common trunk, perpetually suggest to him Unionism. During the civil war no portion of the country more effectively upheld the republic—none was more truly loyal than the Free States of the Valley.

Influence of the aspect of Nature on the Western people.

The Nebraska River is also called the Platte. Hence the region formerly passed under the designation of the Platte country; and in 1851–2, premature attempts had been made in Congress to accomplish its organization as a Territory. These were followed by a similar movement originating with the State of Missouri in 1853. A bill for that purpose passed the House of Representatives, but was defeated by the influence of the Slave States in the Senate, because the Territory as thus organized would have been free.

First attempts to organize the Nebraska country as a Territory.

In the next Congress, 1853, the attempt was renewed in the Senate, this time by the State of Iowa. It speedily led to a serious conflict between the North and the South.

A dispute at once arises between the free and slave powers.

Since this region was to the north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$, it must, under the Missouri Compromise, be free territory.

But on the part of the South it was asserted that, in virtue of the Compromise of 1850, the slaveholder had a right to carry his slaves into that Territory—the practical result being a setting aside of the Missouri Compromise line.

Under these circumstances, it was proposed, the territory in dispute being about 400 miles in breadth, to divide it as near as might be into equal portions along the fortieth parallel of latitude, the result being that the slave state Missouri would thus have the Territory of Kansas on its west, and the free state Iowa that of Nebraska, the new Territories thus taking the names of their principal streams.

Proposition to divide the Territory.

With respect to the delicate but vital question of slavery, it was proposed to carry out the principle which had now become known as that of Congressional non-interference—that is, that the United States Congress should stand in a neutral attitude, doing nothing to prevent

and nothing to promote the introduction of slavery, but should leave those points to be settled by the inhabitants of the Territory themselves. This was asserted to be the legitimate result of the compromise measures of 1850.

It was doubtless expected that the practical consequence of this partition of territory would be that the Southern portion would eventually furnish a slave, and the Northern a free state. But, under these circumstances, it was plain that a conflict between the two great parties must necessarily ensue; that the flood of free labor heretofore steadily overflowing the North, and the stream of slave labor from the South, would be precipitated against each other on the banks of the Kansas.

That it might furnish a free and a slave state.

Not that this event could be avoided, or, indeed, for any length of time procrastinated; it was the inevitable issue to which the country in its progress was coming. The South at once appreciated its position and foreboded defeat. Its statesmen recognized the impossibility of throwing into the disputed Territory a sufficient force of slaves. It was useless for the slaveholder to go there without them. The Atlantic States and the Border States were already drained; nor was there any possibility of attracting negro labor from the Gulf to the comparatively barren slope of Nebraska. But the North had the boundless population supplies of Europe at her command. In overwhelming numbers she could direct her advancing columns of free emigrants to the point of contact.

A conflict for the possession of it unavoidable.

In the Congressional debates amendments were proposed indicating how clearly the political position was appreciated; among these may be mentioned one incapacitating the people of the Territory from prohibiting slavery, and one re-

The slave power appreciates the difficulty of its attempt.

fusing to immigrants who had only declared their intention to become citizens, a vote.

The struggle took place in Kansas. Even before the passage of the Territorial Bill, and its approval by the President, treaties were made with the Indian tribes who had reservations in the country, their titles being extinguished as fast as possible, and settlers from Missouri, with their slaves, crossed over, every exertion being made not only to organize the Territory on these principles, but to exclude the incoming free emigrants. In the Eastern States what were termed Emigrant Aid Societies were established, and settlers not only prepared for agricultural labor, but armed for conflict, forced in. Every one saw that the Kansas affair was the turning-point of the great struggle. The Missourians called upon the people of the other Slave States for help, and attempted by threats and violence to force the exclusion of their antagonists. The election for the first Territorial Legislature took place in March, 1855, the slave party carrying every thing before it. It was affirmed that nearly a thousand squatters came over from Missouri to vote, and, still worse, that there were eight times as many votes as voters. At Marysville, where there were only 24 legal voters, not less than 328 pro-slavery votes were returned. In the Legislature which shortly after assembled, laws were passed enacting the penalty of death for various offenses against the slave system.

Meantime the free settlers held a Convention at Topeka. They formed a Constitution, and applied to Congress for admission as a free state. The House of Representatives sent a committee to Kansas to examine into the facts of the case. Upon their report, the state, with its Topeka or free Constitution, was admitted by the House; but the bill was

Immigration of
slaveholders to
Kansas.

Free emigration
promoted by the
New England
Aid Societies.

The slaveholders
at first successful.

The free settlers
form a Constitu-
tion at Topeka.

defeated in the Senate. The disorders now became ten-fold worse. Assassinations, murders, and all manner of brutal crimes were perpetrated. Skirmishes, resulting in great loss of life, occurred between the free and slave parties. A regiment of recruits from the Atlantic States, South Carolina and Georgia, arrived. The town of Lawrence was sacked; but the Free-soil emigrants steadily increased in number, and among them came one destined to future celebrity—John Brown, of Ossawatimie.

Dreadful condition of the country through these disputes.

While these deplorable events were happening in Kansas, the Presidential election occurred. Though Mr. Fremont, the Republican candidate, obtained a very large vote (1,341,264 votes), a premonition of the rapidly-increasing strength of the Abolitionists, the Democratic party secured the victory, and Mr. Buchanan was elected. He received 1,838,169 votes.

Accession of Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency.

On his accession to power Mr. Buchanan would have willingly admitted Kansas as a slave state, under the Lecompton Constitution, as it was termed—the Southern party having held a Convention at that place, and formed a Constitution in accordance with their ideas. But so great was the influx of free settlers under the auspices of the New England Aid Societies, that the Territorial legislation passed into their hands. They, of course, rejected the Lecompton Constitution, and eventually, at the time the Southern States seceded, Kansas was admitted as a free state.

He favors the Lecompton or slave Constitution.

Eventual victory of the free settlers.

“Had the African slave-trade been open—had we been able to throw ten thousand negroes into Kansas, we could have carried our point without the loss of a white man’s life”—such was the exclamation of the South. But from the beginning the issue of the conflict was inevitable; the

Cause of the want of success by the South.

North had unlimited population supplies—the South had not.

There can be no doubt that the South, in lending herself to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, committed a mistake. So long as all territory on her side of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$ was delivered to slavery, she had security. In permitting the abandonment of that concession, she grasped at the shadow of equality with the North, and lost the substance; from that moment the anti-slavery party had her at their mercy. Moreover, the repeal of that Compromise produced a profound moral impression—perhaps it might even be said, anger, at the North. It aided in conjoining Abolitionism with Republicanism, and in giving Mr. Fremont his vast vote. It disintegrated the Democratic party, and destroyed it in the North, by alienating many of those who could not but look with approval on whatever gave a fair field to the white laborer. It mortally offended all those who upheld the cardinal principle of Northern policy, that a popular majority ought to rule—the Lecompton Constitution, which Mr. Buchanan so much favored, being, in their estimation, not the work of a majority of the people. The Democratic party and the South, heretofore allied, now looked upon each other with distrust; the former had obviously become demoralized, the latter had lost its prestige.

The Kansas-Nebraska struggle marks an epoch in the great controversy between the North and the South. It closes the period of Parliamentary or Congressional debate between them, and introduces one of violence and open war. The South clearly perceived that nothing more was to be hoped for from peaceable measures, and that, if it were its intention to perpetuate, or even to protect African slavery, it could do so only by force.

I.—D D

Disastrous effect to the South of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

This struggle constitutes an epoch in the American Conflict.

CHAPTER XXV.

ON THE CONTEMPLATED RESTORATION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Pressed by a sense of the necessity of increasing the slave supply, both for political and economical reasons, some of the Southern Conventions considered the effect of reopening the African slave-trade. An abstract is given of the arguments in favor of and against that measure, presented to the Montgomery Convention in 1858, and of the probable effect of the secession movement upon it.

AN imperious necessity pressed upon the South to find deliverance from the difficulties hourly increasing around her. To maintain a balance of power in the general government she must have more states; to have more states she must have more people. Already the transfer of slaves from the older-settled communities was disarranging local industry. Moreover, it was obviously impossible to control the direction of that transfer. The slave was sent where his labor was commercially most profitable, not where political considerations indicated.

The North could consolidate its Territorial acquisitions by pouring into the West not only its own natural increase, but also half a million of immigrants annually. That additional increment of labor and of power was denied to the South. Her position was such that she could not look to Europe for help. It was impossible for her to co-ordinate white and black labor, and the African slave-trade was piracy.

It seemed as if she was under the finger of Destiny. She had been constrained to surrender the Northwest Territory, the larger part of the

The necessity of an increased slave supply for the South.

Abundant population supplies for the North.

The South is steadily losing territory.

Louisiana purchase, the Mexican acquisitions. Free labor was steadily encircling her in the West.

Ideas, when they assume political activity, necessarily become aggressive. They take the initiative, and quickly compel material interests to stand on the defensive. The New England anti-slavery conceptions never for a moment declined in force. They spread geographically, and increased in intrinsic intensity. They pressed remorselessly on the South.

The South mistook the spirit of the times. She did not recognize that modern civilization is adverse to her institution. She closed her eyes to the fact that progressive Europe is hostile to negro slavery.

Nor was it alone against this exterior pressure that she had to contend. She had—perhaps a still more difficult task—to satisfy the whisperings of her own conscience. At one time, in the earlier stages of the controversy, there were, especially among her women, widespread misgivings as to the morality of the institution, and many pious persons sincerely prayed to be delivered from its evils. To calm these feelings, her clergy provided texts and arguments from the Scriptures, showing that the descendants of Ham were under a curse; that among the Old Testament worthies slavery was tolerated, and hence it was—such was the phrase—a patriarchal institution. The Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Prophecies, the Gospels, the Epistles, the patristic writers, were all shown to abound in convincing and approving evidence.

In this there was an illustration of the remark of Carrel, that “necessities dictate principles, and that principles are always silent in presence of necessities.”

She also sought support from the hand of science. Among the Southern naturalists there were some who

with ability contested the doctrine of the unity of the human race, attempting to demonstrate from anatomical, physiological, and other such considerations, that the black races have sprung from an origin totally distinct from the white; that their physical, and especially their cerebral construction, marks them out as an inferior race, obviously intended for servile life. Hence, though we should bear ourselves toward them with kindness, our conduct ought to be regulated on the same principles that we observe toward our domestic animals, to which we so often become sincerely attached—that we should guide their actions, obliging them to submit to restraint, and subjecting them, if needful, to punishment.

Attempts to remove those misgivings.

On her part, the North entered her protest against all such assertions and conclusions. Her press poured forth an increasing stream of argument, often tinged with bitter invective. To strike at the weakest point of her antagonist, she assailed the conscience of the South; the mails and post-offices were burdened with anti-slavery newspapers, pamphlets, and books. Among the latter one may be mentioned as having attained world-wide celebrity—"Uncle Tom's Cabin." It was translated into almost every European language, and passed through hundreds of editions. It was read from Sweden to Italy, from the British Islands to the Russian Empire. If we may judge from its effect on the popular mind of Europe, the printing of that book was one of the severest intellectual blows delivered against the South.

The North protests against such views.

As this unequal conflict went on, it became more and more apparent that, if the South would preserve her institution, she must resort to repression, and assume an offensive attitude. Accordingly her Conventions, which of late had annually

The South attempts to restrain such protests by force,

assembled, unceasingly recommended the exclusion of all Northern literature, newspapers, periodicals, and especially school-books. Committees of learned men were appointed for the preparation of elementary works suitable for schools and colleges, so composed as to be in accordance with pro-slavery views. It was recommended to exclude all Northern teachers, male and female, and put under ban all Northern colleges. Some of the more active members of these Conventions proposed to place all New England manufactures on the same footing that New England did their slaves; some even went so far as to advocate the inflicting of punishment on all Southern men who should have dealings with New England.

In her general political movement, it is plain that the South was committing the mistake so significantly reprehended by Napoleon. She was converting a transitory necessity into a permanent political principle. She had persuaded herself that slavery had become every thing to her; that, if she desired to be a power at all, she must be a slave power. She dreamt of a great empire round that American Mediterranean, the Gulf of Mexico, holding possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, and thereby controlling the centre of the continent, but "leaving out in the cold" the New England Puritans. A monopoly of the cotton trade would give her weight among the nations of the earth; a strong military government would enable her to more than rival the glories of ancient Rome. Slavery was her transient necessity; she sought to make it the permanent political principle, the "corner-stone" of enduring empire. In all this she reversed the remark of Montesquieu, that "a slave nation tends to preserve rather than to acquire, a free nation to acquire rather than to preserve."

To realize these imperial hopes one condition must obviously be fulfilled—her laboring population, her inte-

And considers the effect of restoring the African slave-trade. rior force, must be increased. Her religious misgivings having been satisfied as respected the morality of her acts, her patriotic enthusiasm aroused by an anticipated brilliant future, she brought her communities to that state that they would hearken to the reopening of the slave-trade.

But, though they would hearken, it must not be supposed that the suggestion met with universal approval. Very many of her ablest men discerned that the movements of the Northern communities were only a secondary cause, and that it was the irresistible progress of modern civilization, the spirit of the age, that had found an embodiment in them. Against that spirit they knew that it was altogether useless to struggle.

In the South itself there were thus upon this great question conflicting views; there were also, as will be presently found, conflicting interests—the great proprietor and the poor white—the slave-selling and the slave-using states. That I may with impartiality offer the opinions of each, I shall, in the following pages, give an abstract of the documents and criticisms submitted to the consideration of the Convention at Montgomery, Alabama, May, 1858.

Report to the Montgomery Convention, 1858. A committee having been appointed at the previous meeting of the Convention, held at Knoxville, Tennessee, 1857, to examine into the wants of the South in respect to population and labor, and also to inquire into the condition of the natives of Africa, made to the Montgomery Convention substantially the following report.

Abstract of that report. “It is obvious that two distinct and antagonistic forms of society have met for contest upon the arena of the Union. The one assumes that all men are equal, and that equality is right. On that

theory it is leveling its members to the horizontal plane of a democracy. The other assumes that all men are not equal; that equality is not right; and, standing upon this theory, is taking to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. The former embraces the popular ideal of the age; and while entitled, therefore, to presumption in its favor, is established in the common mind by the conclusive logic of adoption. The other departs from that ideal, and, sentenced therefore by popular judgment, must prove its claims to recognition. The former is the view of the North, the latter of the South.

Social principles
of the North and
South.

“Two races have been brought into contact in the South, and these races are unequal. That they are unequal in character and capacity is too plain, perhaps, to need an argument. While the ruling race has been capable of progress; while it has continually advanced in law and arts, and is able to sustain a structure of civilization not only over itself, but over the other race connected with it, that other race has not been capable of progress. It has never been able to rear a structure of civilization in its native land; it has not been able to sustain the structure prepared for it in the West Indies; it has not been able to stand up to the structure sustained over it in the Northern States; and neither in its native land nor in a foreign land, in a savage or civilized condition, has it ever yet been able to illuminate one living truth with the rays of genius.

Inferiority of the
negro race.

“Yet, while so unequal, there is no apparent reason why these races should not come together. They are upon the surface of the same earth; they both possess powers of expansion; and the God that made them must have foreseen, and must have intended, that their circles of expansion must intersect; and, unless it can be inferred

that the stronger was intended to exterminate the weaker, as it has crushed out the Indian on this continent, and as man expels the untamed beasts, it would seem that some form of union was intended to take place between them.

“If intended that a union should occur, it must also have been intended that it should be in relations of inequality; for it is a law of the same great Architect that, if unequal in fact, they must be unequal in relations; that bodies of unequal gravity must rest at unequal levels; that oil and water, poured into the same vessel, must settle in planes of unequal elevation; and so, therefore, it would seem that in this form of social constitution there is not only no wrong, but that here, as elsewhere, if Nature be true to herself, superior power must find its office in superior position.

“Nor, though Democracy be the ideal of the age, is there reason for believing that human society was intended to consist forever of such an unarticulated mass. No such mass has ever yet commenced the march of social improvement. Whenever states have come to greatness, they have exhibited the condition of unequal classes. There were citizens and slaves in Greece, patricians and plebeians in Rome, peers and villeins in England, nobles and peasants in Central Europe; and generally, wherever there has been social progress and power, there has been articulation, a ruling and a subject class, if not a ruling and a subject race—an artificial, if not a natural dualism.”

The committee then proceed to show, both from history and from Nature, that a progressive society must necessarily have degrees of subordination. From the analogies of the latter they affirm that a nation must pass by regular grada-

Conditions under which it can coexist with the white.

Necessity of its being in a subordinate position.

tions upward, and that it may have a form and organism, capacities and powers, as much above the Democratic ideal of the present age as the highest animals are above the lowest.

The committee then affirm that, if the domestic slave-trade be admissible, the foreign slave-trade can not be wrong. They then depict the social condition of the negro in Africa. From different authors of repute they show the condition of abject barbarism and unspeakable immorality of that country, and conclude that there is no class of negro life that would not be elevated by coming to a state of slavery in America.

The report next proceeds to consider the probable effect of the foreign slave-trade upon the fortunes of the South, declaring that "the great want of the South is of population; that this is necessary to political power, and political power is necessary to liberty. The two great sections of the country are distinct, and it is unreasonable to expect that there can be security either for social or political rights without the political power to sustain them. As the republic is at present constituted, political power is dependent on population. If the North shall have a larger population and a majority of states, the North may govern, and it were scarcely sanity to hope that she will forbear to do so. She has that majority at present; she has a majority of two votes in the Senate, and more than fifty in the House of Representatives. By immigration and by the more rapid increase of her population she is daily acquiring an increase to her political power. With such an excess of population she can readily, perhaps she must necessarily, preclude the South from vacant territory. With her excess of political power she can control the fortunes of the South in Congress. Her purpose to control the government, and, through the government, the South, has already been expressed.

Admissibility of
the African slave-
trade.

“The slave-trade will give us political power. For every five slaves that come in, we acquire the right to a representation for three persons in the national Legislature. Still more: it is necessary to power that we should have not only population, but states, and experience has shown that there is no way of securing slave territory without slaves. Ten thousand Southern masters have made a noble effort to rescue Kansas, and have failed, but so would not have failed ten thousand slaves. Ten thousand of the rudest Africans that ever set their feet upon our shores, imported as they would have been perhaps in Boston ships, by Boston capital, and under a Boston slave-driver, would have swept the Free-soil party from that land. Taking that Territory, we should also have taken her whole population of sixty thousand to the South; so also might we take another state in Texas, in Arizona, New Mexico, Lower California, perhaps in Nebraska, Utah, Oregon. It is even possible that, with slaves at importers’ prices, we might stop the hungry mouth of free society in the older states, and lull it to repose as far back as the sterile regions of New England.

“The foreign slave-trade will give us population; it will give us power of extension to vacant territory; it will draw foreign enterprise to its embrace, foreign capital to its support; it will furnish the commodity with which to subsidize the emissaries of the North, and drive the North from every field of competition.

“But, moreover, another great want of the South is of labor. That is necessary both to material progress and the value of vested interest; it is necessary to material progress, for without it there is no more hope of a more varied culture. Upon an area of 856,000 square miles, with a laboring population of three and a half millions, it

Its effect on the South.

It will give the South political power.

It will also give power of occupying territory,

is idle to expect competition with crowded countries in the realms of industry. The mechanic arts will pay no more for labor here than they are forced to pay for it elsewhere. But cotton does and will pay more. It buys up all the labor, and the man who undertakes other branches must provide his labor at cotton prices. Such must be the condition at the South until there shall be sufficient labor to satisfy the craving maw of cotton. When that shall happen, the excess will fall to competition with the world in other lines of business. The foreign slave-trade will give us that abundant labor. It is asserted that the negro is unfitted for the arts, but without the slightest ground for the assertion. Intelligence is necessary to the construction of a machine, and to its regulation also; but labor only is necessary to its operation, and the negro, in his common absence from reflection, is perhaps the best manipulatist in the world.

And satisfy the
pressing labor-
want.

“So, also, is labor necessary to the value of vested interests. In respect of such interests the South has been singularly unfortunate. At the North men step to opulence. The foreign population poured upon that section has given progress to every line of business, and value to every article of property. Lands bought one year are worth twice as much the next; and the people there, as values rise around them, have the comforts of wealth. Not so with us. Here there has been no wave of foreign power to raise the value of our vested interests. On the contrary, the wave of labor is continually gliding away from us, and, though our labor has been productive, our products abundant, there are many of us in the older sections who would fail to sell our estates to-day for as much as was paid for them in market fifty years ago.

It will increase the
value of vested in-
terests,

“This state of things would be altered by the foreign

slave-trade. That would give population, and population alone would necessarily advance the value of vested interests; for between population and the prices of real interests at least there is an intimate and necessary connection. In the Southern States, where there are but twelve persons to the square mile, the average value of land is about six dollars an acre; in the Northern States, where there are one hundred to the square mile, the average is about fifty dollars to the acre. In England, where there are three hundred and thirty-three to the square mile, the value is about one hundred and seventy dollars to the acre. And so it is, that an increase in population gives a necessary increase in the value of real property; and so it is, also, that an increase of competitors will give a necessary increase in the value of every other matter that becomes a subject of a common want.

“It may, perhaps, be objected, that if the slave-trade shall furnish labor cheaper, it will lower the price of slaves, and thus, therefore, that it will injure one class of interests as much as it will benefit another. But this is not the operation. It will give a cheaper form of slave labor. There can be little doubt that it will furnish slaves competent to many of the under offices of life at a figure much below the present range of prices; but these will not come in competition with the slaves at present in the country. Those who own slaves now will perhaps be the first to buy more. Though not competent to do the business of educated slaves, they will yet be able, under the direction of educated slaves, to do the business which would else require a better class of labor; and unless there should be a reduction in the prices of Southern staples, the trained slaves can not be less valuable than they are.

“That there will be a material reduction in those prices

And particularly of
real estate.

It will not lower
the present price of
skilled slave labor,

is not to be expected. Cotton may come down perhaps to a level at least with other staples, and it is perhaps desirable that it should come down to that level, for it is a grave misfortune to be dependent upon the fluctuations of a single product. So it was with the Spanish colonies of Mexico and South America. They had but the single product, gold, and that was so remunerative that no others could approach it. It was a waste of

But tend to diversify the occupations of the South.

time to plant crops, to prepare food or clothing, or to practice even the courtesies of common life ; and while it loaded the miserable miners down with metal, and gave millions upon millions to the treasury of the world, it made those regions as wild a waste as though no human footstep had ever crossed them. So also here. It is now not considered profitable to raise our grain, or cultivate the ordinary arts ; and if cotton were to range twenty years at twenty cents a pound, it is to be doubted whether every other culture would not be driven from the field, and whether we should not become a weary, wide-spread, horizontal waste of cotton—the broad plantation, rather than as now, the province of the North.”

The committee then affirm that the requisitions of the world for cotton increase at the rate of about six per cent. per year ; that the South is at present furnishing about two thirds of the supply ; and that the effect of the opening of the African trade would be to drive India and Egypt out of the market, and not to produce a reduction in the price of the staple. They then continue :

“The next great want of the South is of slaves. Before the suppression of the slave-trade the two races were nearly equal, and it is probable that they would have so continued. Both were free to come, and, as they naturally settled in proportions of equality, it is probable, under ordinary circumstances, that that is the due propor-

tion between them. But when the slave-trade was cut off, the natural tendency became disturbed. The opening South demanded population. The white race could come, the colored could not; and hence it has happened that they are no longer equal. There are three millions of masters without a slave. These add to the political

power of the South; they add to its prosperity and greatness, but they add nothing to the strength of slavery. They form no part or parcel of its structure. They do not look at it with repugnance, for it is popular at the South to admire it. They would not abolish it, for they would share in the ruin of its loss; but there is the feeling that they do not share directly in the institution. This condition, painful if it be not perilous, would be alleviated by the foreign slave-trade. That will diminish the disparity of numbers. But it will do more; it will remove another difficulty also. Under present circumstances, it is not only impossible that six and a half millions of freemen can each own one of three and a half millions of slaves, but at present prices it is impossible that the mere laborer can ever do so. It is long, under the most favorable circumstances, before he can make one thousand dollars, and, making it, it is longer still before he can come to risk so much upon a single venture. However much he may wish a share in that desirable commodity, it is done

up in packages too large for common use. The foreign slave-trade will bring enough for all, and reduce prices so that poorer men may purchase; it will thus bring all the ruling class to the same social stand-point, and reintegrate and strengthen our social system; it will abolish the odious distinction between slaveowners and non-slaveowners.

“It is objected that if slaves be thus allowed to come, they will come in great numbers; and that, as the Slave

It will diminish the number of the non-slaveholding class,

And therefore strengthen Southern society.

There is no danger
of an overcrowding
of slaves,

States will be hemmed in by the Free, they will crowd the South to a kind of social suffocation. But the committee see no reason to believe that such will be the case. On the contrary, the importation of one or two hundred thousand slaves will enable us to take every Territory offered in the West. It will not then be necessary to fight as we have had to fight for Kansas, but mere slaves will win the battle for us. Those offered at paying prices will subdue the hearts of even abolition emissaries, and point their rifles against the North, and with slaves only sufficient for the work of pioneer advancement we may open to the institution of domestic slavery the whole broad plain from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

“Admitting, however, as many do, that the foreign slave-
trade will not injure the savages of Africa,
And none of foreign
opposition. or directly the people of the South, it is yet
contended that it will bring us into contact with foreign
states, or that, at least, in pressing it to adoption, we shall
break the Union. To these propositions we do not as-
sent. It is not true, as is assumed, that foreign nations
are tender on the score of human rights. England crushes
India; France, Algeria; Russia, Prussia, and Austria have
parted Poland; all march to opportunity, and, if forced to
look for European morality in the history of European
states, we shall find every where an unequivocal assertion
of one great principle—that power is virtue, and weakness
crime. Nor is it true that European states are hostile to
the spread of slavery at the South. They are hostile to
the Union. They see in it a threatening rival; they see
that rival armed with one of the most potent productive
institutions that the world has ever witnessed. They
would crush India and Algeria to make an equal supply
of cotton with the North, and, failing this, they would
crush slavery to bring the North to a footing with them-

Europe no longer looks upon slavery with repugnance.

selves. But to slavery without the North they have no repugnance; on the contrary, if it were to stand out for itself, free from the control of any other power, and were to offer to European states, upon fair terms, a full supply of its commodities, it would not only not be warred upon, but the South would be singularly favored—crowns would bow before her—kingdoms and empires would break a lance to win the smile of her approval; and, quitting her free estate, it would be in her option to become the bride of the world, rather than as now, the miserable mistress of the North.

There is no danger that the resumption of the trade will dissolve the Union.

“Nor will the slave-trade measure surely break the Union. It will deprive the North of her preponderance of political power, and it will be opposed, therefore, by the political tradesmen of that section. But to the mercantile and commercial interests it will give a richer field for operations than they have ever dared to dream of. To the manufacturing interest it will be the promise of more abundant cotton, and of a wider market for their fabrics. It is interest, not sentiment or opinion, that gives tendency to political action, and these interests, concurring, can control the North. The people of that section love power, but they love it only for its profits. They will take it, scheme for it, steal it perhaps, but they will not pay for it; and if their interests lead them, as will be the case to concur with the South in reopening the foreign slave-trade, they will not only not break the Union on that issue, but they will subsidize their venal representatives to press it onward; and not only, therefore, will it not break the Union, but in giving the South the road to political security it will present the only condition upon which the Union can be permitted to endure.”

On the contrary, the Northern people will favor it.

Under the influence of these considerations the committee recommend the reopening of the African slave-trade.

The subject of this report became at once the leading topic with the Montgomery Convention. Its arguments and conclusions were powerfully assailed. They were objected to as out of place; the Convention being assembled, not for the purpose of proclaiming before Christendom intentions utterly repugnant to grave and sensible men, and the inauguration of a novel and most mischievous policy, but for the purpose of invigorating a commerce crippled by discriminating navigation laws, and to stimulate Southern industry. It was denounced as a scheme for reducing the price of slaves, and therefore nothing but agrarianism and abolition of the worst kind. It was urged that if the argument about population proves any thing, white, and not black men, should be introduced, since they will count five instead of three fifths. As to what was said about instituting a classification of slaves, that would simply be to put the intelligent negro on a footing of rivalry with the poor white. Moreover, it was recalled to mind that the South had pledged herself to the federal government to yield the African slave-trade in an unconditional and absolute manner, and that by urging the policy now proposed the Democratic party at the North must be offended, and perhaps sacrificed. In short, the proposition to revive the African trade is simply and purely a proposition to dissolve the Union, because it can not be carried while the Union lasts, and it will shock the moral sentiments of Christendom.

On this it was demanded: "If it be right to raise slaves for sale, is it not right to import them? Suppose a captain from New Orleans were to ask the gentleman

I.—E E

from Virginia if it was lawful for him to buy slaves, the answer undoubtedly would be that it was, provided he did not do it in Cuba, Brazil, or Africa. But if it be right to buy slaves in Virginia, why is it not right to buy them in Africa, or wherever they can be had cheapest? Why should we be compelled to give the Virginian \$1500 a piece for his slaves, when we can get them in Cuba for \$600, and in Africa for one sixth of that?"

What applies to the African applies to the domestic trade.

The opponents of this measure declared that, so far from public sentiment at the South being ready for the proposed reopening of the trade, it was apparent that its introduction here had caused a deplorable division of the Convention itself. Eighteen months had elapsed since the subject was first agitated, and not one primary meeting of the South had endorsed it; not one state of the South had taken any action upon it except South Carolina. It was therefore inopportune and inexpedient to ask Congress to repeal those laws.

The Southern people disapprove of it.

"It had been imputed against Virginia that motives of pecuniary interest influenced her position on this question. But, in truth, at this moment, so great was her domestic prosperity that her slave labor could be rendered as profitable in her own limits as even in the Gulf States.

The institution of slavery had been established among us against the opinion of the civilized world. The states of the North had yielded to that opinion, and had abolished it; the South, however, against the influence of that opinion, had progressed constantly and steadily, until she now presents the most beautiful, stupendous, grand, and unrivaled system of labor and capital that the world has ever beheld. This she has done by being united and firm in her position. Is it wise, then, now, upon a question that is

Inexpedience of provoking public opinion.

admitted to be impracticable and unalterable, to create division and dissension among ourselves, when England and France are endeavoring to establish systems of labor like our own, differing only in name? Let us rather wait, and let an overruling Providence guide our institutions to their natural culmination."

Such were the views expressed at the Montgomery Convention on the reopening of the African slave-trade. A motion to lay the report upon the table, and print it, was unanimously agreed to.

So far, therefore, as the Montgomery Convention may be taken as representing Southern opinion, it appeared that that opinion was adverse to the expediency of reopening the trade. In addition to the arguments I have briefly alluded to as presented on that occasion, others may be gathered from the literature of the South, and

Connection of
these movements
with secession.

among them some are of considerable interest, since they indicate the connection of that movement with the proposition becoming more and more imminent—of Southern secession. As an example, I may offer the following quotation :

"In other quarters the prospect of reopening the slave-trade has been made an argument for the dissolution of the Union, and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy composed of the present slaveholding states. But

A Southern Confederacy would
never reopen the
trade.

is it likely that such a Confederacy would grant the slaveholding states that boon? The course of things in the late Southern Convention would go to show that we could never hope for the reopening of the slave-trade by a Southern Confederacy. The strongest part of that Confederacy would be interested in protecting the slave-sellers here at home against competition with the slave-sellers in Africa. Virginia, and Kentucky, and Missouri, together with such

other states as now derive large profits from raising negroes that are sold to Mississippi and other slaveholding states, would in a Southern Confederacy see, as they do now see, a sinfulness in the revival of the slave-trade with Africa that would effectually prevent them from soiling their Christian hands in any such bloody business. And these communities that would restrict the slave-trade would control the Southern Confederacy; they would outnumber their victims, and force them to content themselves with the home market, and take their negroes at home prices. The northern states of this Southern Confederacy would seize a monopoly of our Southern demand for negroes. This was made manifest in the late Montgomery Convention, for just such a disposition operated upon the representatives of those slave-selling states in that Convention, and prevented the passage of resolutions in favor of reviving the slave-trade.

The Border States
would assume the
present policy of
the Eastern States,

“It would not be long, too, after the establishment of a Southern Confederacy, before its northern members would begin to declaim that a country, exporting as much cotton as our Southern Union would export, could never be safe without a commercial and naval marine; and the consequences of that outcry would be that they who raised it, having the power, would immediately institute such a system of legislation as would build up a national marine, naval and commercial, at the expense of the Southern exports; so our cotton interests in a Southern Confederacy would soon be called upon to pay most roundly for protection to merchants and seamen in Maryland, Virginia, and other of those more thickly-peopled states. The establishment of such a system of protection for seamen, it is easy to see, would only pave the way for a like protection for manufactures in our Confederacy of Southern slavehold-

And be turned into
another New En-
gland,

ing states. The burden of the protection would fall on the exporting states, and the advantages of it would be distributed among the dense population of our more northern states, for it would be those states that would naturally turn to commerce and manufactures rather than our cotton-growing community.

“So it would appear that any project contemplating the existence of a Southern Confederacy as likely to secure the slave-trade for the people is founded on a double error. So far from doing what it proposes, we should not only fail to realize our dearest object of procuring negroes at cheap rates, but we should become again the prey of a section disposed, as its late action against the free-trade in negroes evinces, to use its power for build-

And the Cotton
States be impover-
ished by the move-
ment.

ing up its own interests regardless of the rights of other sections. We should find that this controlling portion of the Southern Confederacy would turn out to be another New England living on the fat of our lands. To dissolve the present Union and erect a Southern Confederacy would be, so far as we are concerned, like setting fire to the ships and factories of New England only to rebuild them in Virginia, and that, too, after it has been at our own cost that they were first built. We had better, then, hold on to the possessions we have already, and not throw them away for a delusive hope that we can get a slave-trade with Africa by going into a Southern government, when, instead of realizing that hope, we can only make sure of being precipitated into the most impoverishing of protective tariffs under such a Southern government.”

SECTION VI.

PREPARATION FOR WAR.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ACCUSATION OF THE NORTH BY THE SOUTH.

The North was accused by the South of ingratitude for the sacrifices she had made to establish the Union; of avarice, in the unfair seizure of territory; of throwing from herself the burden of taxation; of assaulting, through attacks on Slavery, the domestic life and the very existence of Southern society.

DURING the Kansas-Nebraska struggle it became plain that the South had perceived the impossibility of maintaining her supremacy in the Union, and henceforth contemplated the protection of her interests by separation. The labors of Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Yancey, and others, who had long inculcated the necessity of secession, had prepared the way for that result.

At this point we may therefore conveniently consider what may be termed the literary aspect of the controversy. It was not possible but that sentiments of animosity should influence the journalism and writings of both parties.

Not without increasing remonstrance did the South accept her destiny. Imputing her position not to the operation of natural causes, but to the political action of the North, her literature is full of accusations and protests. As a key to the explanation of the great events that ensued, it is necessary to present these statements, and the more so since, unlike the statesmen of the Revolution, who published to

Accusations of the South.

It imputes its decline to Northern policy.

the world, in their Declaration of Independence, a succinct account of the grievances they had endured, and the acts of tyranny that had been inflicted upon them, the statesmen of the South plunged into civil war without any formal avowal of the causes which had led them to that step.

I purpose, therefore, in this and the following chapter, to present such opinions, accusations, and remonstrances as may be collected from the literature of the South, and the speeches of her senators and representatives in Congress, through a few years antecedent to the breaking out of the war. In doing this I shall simply collect and arrange them together, preserving, as far as may be possible, the language, and especially the spirit of the sources from which they are derived.

It was said that the geographical and territorial question involves every other existing between the North and the South. Territorial relations involve political relations, as the latter involve moral and social relations, and therefore whatever has contributed to the territorial ascendancy of the North, contributes to her political, moral, and social ascendancy. If the North be established territorially ascendent over the South, the South must prepare for absorption by her, and, since their institutions are antagonistical, those of the South are doomed to destruction.

Let it be remarked under what circumstances and by what insidious acts the North has established her territorial ascendancy. At the time of the General Convention for the purpose of preparing the Constitution, all New England combined was not as extensive as Virginia, Georgia, or either of the Carolinas separately. Georgia and the Carolinas reached to the Mississippi; Virginia held all the region stretching from the northwest far beyond the Ohio

Conduct of the
North as respects
territory.

Great original do-
main of some of the
Southern States,

River to the Great Lakes; and, by her local law, negro slavery existed throughout that vast domain. In preparation for the Ordinance of 1787, Virginia surrendered to the Union, or, more truly, added to the power of the North, all the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin. Georgia and the Carolinas followed her example. They did this for the sake of bringing about "a more perfect union."

To Virginia that union was of less moment than to any other state. At the close of the Revolutionary War her population was more numerous than that of any of her confederates; she alone had a navy. Her domain, having every source of wealth and power, was as large as the Continent of Europe exclusive of Russia. Her land-sales to emigrants would have filled her treasury. On the south she was separated from France and Spain by Georgia and the Carolinas; on the north she was defended from Great Britain by New England, New York, Pennsylvania. Her sea-line was ample; in Norfolk she had one of the noblest harbors on the Atlantic coast. Nothing was wanted but time to make her the greatest power on the American continent; yet, with political generosity and magnanimity, she surrendered all this, not even reserving the receipts of sales of her public lands, but laid every thing on the altar of the Union.

Especially of Virginia. With her sister Southern States in these transactions she surrendered nine states to the Union—Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin; of these, the last five were given to the North. On her part, the North surrendered only two states to the Union, Vermont and Maine, and gave none whatever to the South.

As the result of this magnificent surrender, the South threw into the general treasury a funded resource which

Their resplendent generosity. has yielded enough to pay the cost of all the wars waged since the Revolution, or of all territorial acquisitions since made twice over. On the other hand, the North placed nothing whatever in the general treasury.

They might, had they chosen, have predominated over the North. Had the South at that time insisted on the application of her local law in the territory she thus yielded, her absolute political predominance over the North would have been assured.

At the time when there were twenty-four states in the Union, she would have had fifteen, the North only nine.

The insignificant equivalent they received. What was the return that the South received for this resplendent political generosity? a provision, originating with Pennsylvania, that "three fifths of her slaves should be counted as federal numbers in the apportionment of federal representation;" and one emanating from Massachusetts, that "fugitive slaves should be surrendered to their masters on claim being made." But have not both these provisions been desecrated as far as was possible, and the latter, particularly, absolutely rendered of no effect?

Conduct of the North respecting territory since obtained. Let us observe the deportment of the North as respects territory since obtained. At the time of the acquisition of Florida by purchase from Spain (1819) there were twenty-two states, equally divided between the North and the South—eleven for each. The Territory of Orleans had been formed into the State of Louisiana, but now the District of Louisiana came to be disposed of; it contained what is now known as Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, the Indian settlements, the eastern half of Kansas, the whole of Nebraska, Washington, and Oregon. The local law of negro slavery existing in Florida and Louisiana was co-extensive with the whole; that law was guaranteed by the United States under the treaty with France; it was

also sanctioned by the Constitution. If carried into effect, the states soon to be admitted would restore the supremacy of the South, notwithstanding the overreaching of the North with respect to the earlier Western Territories ceded in the beginning. The North viewed the subject as an affair of power and sectional interest, the South as one of law and right.

At this juncture Maine sent her petition to Congress, and was without difficulty admitted into the Union, giving to the North a majority of one. To restore the equilibrium, Missouri presented herself. The North, holding a majority in the House of Representatives, refused her. She would remember neither treaty stipulations, constitutional provision, local law, state-rights, nor common justice. She threatened the very existence of the Union unless Missouri would abandon local law and surrender negro slavery. She claimed that negro slavery should be excluded from the west of the Mississippi. The South, amazed at such audacity, became indignant and disgusted. In this extremity, Henry Clay introduced his Compromise. But what was the actual operation of its twofold terms? The South surrendered to the North a region five times as large as that which it reserved. From the Virginia cession of 1784-7, Michigan and Wisconsin still remained to be admitted as non-slaveholding states; and from the Louisiana purchase the North now secured an enormous extent of territory for future settlement. With these overwhelming advantages, it might have been supposed that rapacity would be satisfied; but, fifteen years later, the admission of Arkansas as a slaveholding state was resisted until balanced by the counter admission of the free state Michigan.

Her anti-slavery action on the Missouri Question.

Ruinous effect to the South of the Compromise measures.

In 1845 the question of the annexation of Texas and the admission of Florida came up for solution. At this

time there were twenty-six states in the Union, thirteen of the North and thirteen of the South, giving an equilibrium in the Senate, but leaving in other respects a vast disparity. The reserved territory of the South was fully exhausted, but to the North there remained a mighty field for future expansion, stretching across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. She also held a majority in the House of Representatives. And now a growing tendency toward sectional formation began to appear in the South, as it had long before done in the North. Future civil commotion and disunion were plainly discernible.

The state motives for the annexation of Texas were to equalize sectional antagonisms and balance sectional limits. This accomplished, the Union might expand state by state, slaveholding and free, side by side. Domestic peace would be assured, not by the repression of overgrowing forces, but by bringing counter forces into equalizing play, and foreign peace assured by the resulting monopoly in the supply of cotton, which had now become essential to the industrial pursuits of Europe. That monopoly would subject the manufacturing nations to our mercy, hold the civilized world in bonds to keep the peace, and eventually lead to the acquisition of Cuba. Texas and Cuba, united with Florida and Louisiana, would land-lock the Gulf of Mexico, and keep in security the mouths of innumerable tributaries flowing in all directions, watering and draining inexhaustible valleys, spreading out eastward and westward two thousand miles to the Alleghany Mountains on one hand, and to the Rocky Mountains on the other, and extending northward an equal distance to the lake plateau, already teeming with human life and human wealth, and capable of sustaining in luxurious ease three hundred millions of people.

State of the two sections at the time of the annexation of Texas.

The motives for that annexation.

Texas presented an area equal to that of the French empire under Napoleon; it measured at least three hundred thousand square miles; it had valleys as large as the whole of New England; it produced cotton, sugar, tobacco, grain, quick-silver, gold, silver, and gems. But when the question of its annexation was presented, the North proved hostile to the admission of any more slave states, and even still more hostile to the idea of being again equalized by the South in the Union. A treaty was presented to the Senate, only to be at first rejected, and eventually conceded with the provision that the Missouri line should be applied.

Unfair action of
the North in that
matter.

The annexation of Texas led to the invasion and conquest of Mexico, a magnificent episode in our national annals. That was terminated by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. For twenty millions of dollars purchase money was secured not only the disputed territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, but also the whole region embraced in the Mexican departments of Upper California and New Mexico, to which may be added, as its legitimate fruit, the Mescilla Valley, procured afterward for a few millions more. And this was done under circumstances that left the whole territory to be grasped by the North. Texas having been admitted as a slave state, Wisconsin was hurried in as a free state, Florida and Iowa having previously, in like manner, been admitted. There were now thirty states, equally divided between the North and the South, with a margin on both sides for a farther increase. Thus stood the Union at the time of the Mexican acquisitions, which caused the initiation of that series of measures whose successive enactments, beginning with the "Wilmot Proviso" and ending with the "English Compromise," have not only again re-established the control-

The North grasps
all the advantages
of the Mexican
War.

ing predominance of the North, while leaving the South in a hopeless minority, destitute of farther means of extension, but have imperilled the continuance of the government. Already the admission of California, Oregon, and Minnesota have given to the North a majority of three states in the Union, and of six senators and sixty representatives in Congress, soon to be countlessly enlarged through the ceaseless admission of other states of similar political character, with whose increasing numbers the limited division of Texas can not compete. Already the non-slaveholding power has grasped the legislative while commanding the executive department of the government; already has that power reduced the supreme judiciary to a mere temporary bulwark, the only bulwark of the Constitution and the South alike against the clamoring rule of agrarian majorities and turbulent popular masses.

In the Congressional debates arising on the adjustment of the acquired territory in conjunction with that of Oregon, it was contended that the South had no right to take slaves within the limits of the Mexican acquisition, since by the Constitution of Mexico, as well as by the decree of the Dictator Guerrero, slavery did not exist in those Territories at the time of their acquisition by the United States. Moreover, slavery was excluded from Oregon by the terms of the Missouri Compromise. It was therefore insisted that the whole should be dedicated to free labor. In 1850 the measures proposed by Mr. Clay were one by one adopted, and the Territories in the one direction stood under the Wilmot Proviso, and in the other direction under the Mexican laws, leaving the South entirely despoiled, but embracing a realm for the North as large as the thirty-one states of the Union. The Senate, as well as the House, passed into the hands of the North, and the gov-

It secures California and Oregon,

And obtains supremacy in the Union.

ernment became henceforth the automatic puppet of presidential aspirants.

The North and the South has each its own form of civilization. The domestic history of the Union is the record of a struggle of the intellect of the South to control the ever-increasing numbers and power of the North.

The intellect of the South has struggled to control the brute force of the North,

But in the contests for territorial possessions, waged from the beginning of the Union, the North uniformly came forth the victor; the true source of her strength lay in the rapidity with which she could increase her population. If it was absolutely necessary for the South that there should be more slave states, those states could only be secured by stripping the old ones. The North, besides her natural increase, was pouring into the unoccupied West 350,000 emigrants obtained from Europe annually. There was no restraint on their introduction—nothing answering to the prohibition that had been imposed on the South.

But could not contend against the flood of population.

In the Savannah Convention it was affirmed that the drain of slaves from the Border States had become so great that a scarcity of labor had occurred in them, and that either the African trade must be reopened, or labor must be obtained from Europe. But if the latter be the case, we shall experience the same evil that has befallen the North—that imported population will rule, and the servant will become the political master. It is of no use to be occupied in a wild hunt after new territory to preserve equality of power in the Senate. The North will beat us at that, for she has boundless population supplies. The mistake with us has been that it was not made felony to bring in an Irishman when it was made piracy to bring in an African.

The servant will become the political master! is not the actual position of the North a proof of that? Look

Disastrous influence of the foreign vagrant in the North,

at the helpless and hopeless condition of her intelligent, her wealthier classes. Is it her men of intellect or the demagogues of her rabble that are elected as the political representatives of her cities? Is it surprising that demoralization should pervade all her ranks—that the rich should amass with unscrupulousness and spend with extravagance, when

Her pauper classes plunder the rich,

they know that they are to be the victimized prey of the needy, who, as in the old Roman times, under a color of law and by legal forms, despoil them of their wealth? Universal suffrage has emended the law of landlord and tenant to the disadvantage of the former; it has interfered with the marriage state by facilitating divorce, and separating the estates of men and their wives; it has compelled property owners to bear the burden of government, and liquidate the onerous exactions of corporators; it has forced the rich to educate the children of the poor; its next step will be to compel them to supply food and clothing. The lower classes will before long attack that which has been the source of Northern power; they will insist on the stoppage of emigration, that they may keep up the wages of labor. These classes strike their blows through their power in the state Legislatures. Reckless assessments

And perpetrate intolerable exactions under the forms of law.

are followed by remorseless taxation; there is nothing for the owner of a piece of property but to submit. He may profitably remember that the power, which for the present has been satisfied with a part, could, had it pleased it, have taken the whole. Its exactions, grinding as they have been, were still perpetrated in moderation. The point that was attained in the Roman Empire has not yet been reached when the owner of a patrimony found it his best interest to abandon it without compensation and flee. Bands of unprincipled men, among whom liquor-sellers

abound, consorting together with felonious intentions, prowl round the public buildings and plunder the public purse. In the city of Philadelphia, out of five hundred thousand people there are not fifty thousand against whom an execution in a civil suit could take effect. In exemptions of themselves from the uniform operation of law, and putting a premium on their poverty, the lower classes enforce their mandates by their votes.

That is the price the North is paying for those population supplies by which it is overrunning the Western lands and overwhelming the South. In vain it is erecting superfluous churches, and sustaining with a lavish hand its voluntary ministry. Does not the experience of the whole world teach that no community can be virtu-

Miserable condition of the higher classes in the North.

ous unless its property is absolutely secure? Luxury and dissipation, with all their attendant vices, take firm hold of him who is not sure that the wealth he has to-day will be left to him to-morrow. His maxim inevitably becomes to enjoy while he can. Considering himself as the predestined victim of those who are for the moment beneath him, he reciprocates their frauds by fraud, and meets their acts of legalized extortion by secret dishonesty.

We can not blame the rich for their abnegation of political life, their carelessness about public affairs. They have learned by experience that they can not exert the slightest control. The torrent of democracy is too violent for them to resist; it is their best policy to drift si-

Demoralization of the women.

lently out of its way. Nor is the social demoralization restricted to men. Masculine women perambulate the country, preaching the right of their sex to discard all feminine delicacy, and divide with men the labors and honors of the forum, the field, the cabinet. They are to be seen in the dissecting-rooms of medical schools, preparing themselves with loathsome alacrity

to dispute with the physician his patient and his fee. They do not hesitate to invade the sanctity of the pulpit, commending the clergyman they would displace to betake himself to some more manly pursuit.

Such has been the progress of territorial aggrandizement of the North—such the social cost at which success has been achieved.

What object is there for the South to continue this rude competition? A balance of power at Washington can not be maintained without more states; states can not be held without increased population. A stamp of infamy has been put upon the African supply, and, seeing what has been its effect at the North, no virtuous patriot can desire a supply from Europe, or contemplate without indignation the domination of Irish and German vagrants. Nor does it seem to be worth while to ruin ourselves for the sake of sustaining a general government which in the nature of things must be shortlived. In Washington there is no individual with permanent responsibility; all its political designs are ephemeral. True statesmanship looks to a distant future; our government concerns itself only with the passing moment. We have no power to resist encroachments; universal responsibility means nothing.

Do not let us deceive ourselves. Our past material prosperity offers us no guarantee as to what our future is to be. It did not arise from the nature, the purity, and vigor of our government, but from causes altogether extrinsic. Isolation from Europe secured our independence; our lands tempted the foreign vagrant; our products, especially our cotton, became essential to the industry of the world; but these are not conditions on which empire can be founded; it must depend on a far more enduring principle than fickle popular will. The rules drawn up by a man

The South can not contend with such a state of things.

The past prosperity of the country altogether illusory.

for his own guidance are without power; order can only be made sure by constraint.

From the manner in which the North has dealt with the territorial acquisitions, let us turn to the manner in which she has dealt with the burdens.

Conduct of the
North as respects
state burdens.

The English war left a debt of 130 millions; that war was closed by the treaty of Ghent in 1814. During the years immediately preceding a great change had occurred in New England. Its commerce, which had been nearly destroyed, had been replaced by manufactures. An imposition of high duties would accomplish a double purpose, giving incidental protection to the new interests, which without it could hardly have sustained themselves against foreign competition, and at the same time would meet the requirements of the debt. Without opposition the tariff of 1816 was passed. Even Mr. Calhoun warmly promoted it. But it was not intended to be a permanent measure, or to establish the principle of protection.

Resistance of the
South to the tariff.

In 1820 it was expected that a reduction of the duties would take place, but the South learned that what had been yielded to New England at first as a favor was now demanded as a right. Separating the idea of provision for the national burdens from anticipated private gain, South Carolina, through her Legislature, denounced the system as a wretched expedient to repair the losses incurred in some commercial districts by improvident and misdirected speculation—to compel those parts of the Union which are still prosperous to contribute, even by their utter ruin, to fill the coffers of a few monopolists in the others. The offensive principle, and the opposition to it, were now steadily gathering force. The tariff of 1824 was declared by the Legislature of South Carolina to be unconstitutional; against that of 1828, commonly

called "the bill of abominations," she formally protested in the United States Senate. In 1832, losing all reasonable hope of redress, she resorted to Nullification, and thereby compelled Congress to listen to her remonstrances.

At the entreaty of Virginia a conflict was avoided, and the operation of the nullifying ordinance was postponed. Meantime in Congress the Compromise Act passed, the protecting policy was surrendered, and a gradual reduction of all duties provided for.

But the "Force Bill," which passed in Congress, showed how rapidly concentration of power was taking effect. As Mr. Calhoun in his opposition to it affirmed, "It puts at the disposal of the President, the army and navy, and entire militia; it enables him at his pleasure to subject every man in the United States not exempt from militia duty to martial law; to call him from his ordinary occupation to the field, and, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment, inflicted by a court-martial, to imbrue his hand in his brother's blood. There is no limitation to the power of the sword, and that over the purse is equally without restraint, for among the extraordinary features of this bill it contains no appropriation, which, under existing circumstances, is tantamount to unlimited appropriation. The President may, under its authority, incur any expenditure, and pledge the national faith to meet it. He may create a new national debt at the very moment of the termination of the former—a debt of millions, to be paid out of the proceeds of that section of the country whose dearest constitutional rights this bill prostrates."

The system of revenue from customs is therefore a most stupendous injustice and deception—an insidious robbery, enriching one section at the expense of another, and building up such centralized

Mr. Calhoun's protests against the "Force Bill."

Injustice of a revenue from customs.

places as New York. Direct taxation would arrest an extravagant government, and afford one of simplicity. The tendency of the existing system is not only to centralize wealth in a few large towns, but to aggregate it in a few hands therein, and give birth to that most vulgar and despicable of all aristocracies, an aristocracy of money.

If now we review the outrages of the North against the South, it may be said :

<p>Conduct of the North on the importation of slaves,</p>	<p>The North obtained its own compromise in the Constitution to continue the importation of slaves, and now sets up a law higher than the Constitution to abolish property in slaves which it sold to its neighbors. It deprived us in 1819–20 of an equal settlement in more than half the territory acquired from France. It seized upon Texas north of 36½ degrees, and then appropriated out of the slave territory of that state 44,000 square miles. It excluded us from all the domain acquired by common conquest in Mexico, and deprived slave labor of the privilege of operating in</p>
<p>And in the Cali- fornia mines.</p>	<p>the wealthiest mines on earth—the gold mines of California. It bribed a slave state with ten millions of common funds to sustain a prohibition of slavery in New Mexico. It insists on the abolition of slavery in the districts, forts, arsenals, dock-yards, and other places ceded to the United States. It demands the stoppage of the domestic slave-trade, and thus it would cut off the Northern Slave States from the profits of production, and the Southern from their sources of supply of labor. It forbids all equality, and competition of settlement in the common territories by citizens of the Slave States. It repels all farther admission of new slave states. In fourteen states of the Union it has nullified the fugitive slave acts, and the South has thereby lost half a million of dollars of slave property annually.</p>

It has denied extradition of murderers, and marauders, and other felons. It has caused and shielded the murder of masters or owners in pursuit of fugitive slaves. It has refused to prevent or punish by state authority the spoliation of slave property, and, on the contrary, has made it a criminal offense in the citizens of several states to obey the laws of the Union for the protection of slave property. South Carolina was threatened with executive vengeance for nullification, but not so these nullifying states. It has advocated negro equality, and made it the ground of positive legislation hostile to the Southern States. It opposes protection to slave property on the high seas. It has kept in the South emissaries of incendiarism, to corrupt the slaves, to induce them to run off, or to excite them to rebellion and insurrection. It has carried away millions of slave property by a system of what it calls underground railroads, and has made its tenure so precarious in the Border Slave States as nearly to have abolitionized two of them, Maryland and Missouri, and is constantly making similar inroads upon Virginia and Kentucky. It is necessarily scattering firebrands of incendiary appeals, and extending fanaticism. It has invaded the Territory of Kansas by arms furnished by Emigrant Aid Societies under state patronage, and by funds obtained from foreign enemies in Canada and Great Britain. It has invaded Virginia, and shed the blood of her own citizens on her own soil. It has justified and exalted to the highest honors of admiration and respect the horrid murders, and arsons, and rapine of the raid of John Brown, and has canonized that felon as a saint of martyrdom. It has burnt towns and poisoned the cattle, and formed midnight conspiracies for the depopulation of Northern Texas. It has proclaimed to the slaves the horrid motto, "Alarm to the

Its action on domestic slavery,

And offenses in the matter of the Fugitive Slave Law.

It incites the slaves to revolt,

sleep, fire to the dwellings, poison to the food and water of slaveholders." It has published its plan for the abolition of slavery every where—to rescue slaves at all hazards, form associations, establish presses, to use the vote and ballot, to discipline armed companies, to raise money and military equipments. It has circulated countless thousands of a book, *Helper's Impending Crisis*, appealing to non-slaveholders to detach themselves from slaveholders. It tries to communicate with slaves, to encourage anti-slavery emigrants in the South and West, to seize other property of slaveholders in compensation for the cost of running off their slaves, to enforce emancipation by all means, especially by limiting, harassing, and frowning upon slavery in every mode and form, and finally by the executive, by Congress, by the postal service, and in every way to agitate, without ceasing, until the Southern States shall be abandoned to their fate, and, worn down, shall be compelled to surrender and emancipate their slaves.

And promotes invasions of the Slave States.

It floods the South with incendiary publications.

It has repudiated the decisions of the Supreme Court. It has assailed the South from the pulpit, the press, the school-room. It divides all sects and religions, as well as parties. It denounces slaveholders as degraded by the lowest immoralities, insults them in every form, and holds them up to the scorn of mankind. It has already a majority of the states under its domination; has infected the federal as well as the state judiciary; has a large majority in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States; will soon have, by the new census, a majority in the Senate, and before it obtains the Senate certainly will obtain the chief executive power of the United States. It has announced its purpose of total abolition every where in the states, territories, districts, and ceded places.

Repudiates the Supreme Court, and holds slaveholders up to scorn,

It has proclaimed an irrepressible conflict, a higher law than that of the Federal Constitution itself. And yet, in spite of all this disorganization, it clings to the Union, as well it may, when it is making a profit out of it of two hundred millions of dollars a year.

And adopts Unionism from mercenary motives.

In vain the South falls back on state-rights, that true interpretation of the nature of our government. It is denounced as "a pestilent heresy." But let New England remember that if she succeeds in the overthrow of our slave system, which is guaranteed by the Constitution, the day will inevitably come when she will have to seek protection in the very state-rights she now derides. What is it that gives her the influence she relentlessly uses in the United States Senate? What is it that puts little communities, like those of Rhode Island, and even of Massachusetts herself, on a par with the great states of the West? What is it that enables her to inflict on us her atrocious tariff bills? It is her senatorial representation. But power is irresistibly centering in the Mississippi Valley. Not much longer will those rising states endure that each of their little confederates on the Atlantic coast shall send two senators to Washington, and they themselves no more. They will put into the scale of the balance common sense against the mouldy provincial charters of English kings and a violated Constitution.

But New England has the same necessity for state-rights as the South.

Let New England beware. State-rights are her protection as much as ours. She is hastening the day when she will have to fight a battle for her senatorial representation. Let her take warning by what has occurred in Europe. The Constitution of the United States is not a more sacred instrument than were the treaties of 1815 to the parties of the Holy Alliance. Those treaties were the Constitution of Europe. But little by little they

have been violated by those who have had the temporary power, until it may be justly asked, What are they worth now? If Europe has come, will not America also surely come to the robber maxim that "He shall take who has the power, and he shall keep who can?"

CHAPTER XXVII.

SECESSION AND ITS DREAM OF EMPIRE.

South Carolina requested a conference with Virginia for the purpose of considering the dissensions between the North and the South, and the remedy for them.

Among the arguments adduced in the Slave States in behalf of Secession are, the alleged temporary character of the Union; the irreconcilable differences between the North and the South; the dreadful social condition of the former. It is declared that the guarantees of the Constitution have become worthless through the force of events; that the North must dominate over and ruin the South; that it is itself ruled by foreign vagrants; and that there is no salvation for the South but in separation.

That Secession will give to the South security, prosperity, glory; that the North will not resist it; and that foreign nations, particularly England and France, will favor it.

While secession was yet only in contemplation, South Carolina sent a delegation to Virginia to request, among other things, a conference of the slaveholding states, and the appointment of deputies to it on the part of Virginia. She represented that the great question which underlies all action on this subject is whether the existing differences between the North and South are temporary or permanent—whether they result from accidental derangements of the body politic, or are indications of a normal condition. In the one case temporary expedients may restore soundness; in the other the remedy is either hopeless, or it must be fundamental and thorough.

South Carolina requests a conference with Virginia,

Inquiring whether compromises can be made with the North, or if the estrangement be final.

From the representations made on that occasion, and also from the contemporaneous literature of the South, we may without difficulty gather the facts that were presented with a view of proving that the estrangement was permanent, that com-

South Carolina tempts Virginia to secession.

promises would not end it, that it was deeply founded in the political condition of the two people. We may see whence it was that in Southern opinion there was no hope but in secession.

Considerations in its behalf.

It was said ours was from the beginning a double nationality. Our government was, in the nature of the case, provisional. The colonies fought for independence, not for union; they never regarded the latter but as a temporary means for securing the former—a mere instrument for use at the moment. It was a coalition to make head against a common enemy, the contending parties not entering into it as individuals, but as sovereign states.

The Union never intended for more than a temporary purpose.

The North has departed from that primary condition, and has made its principle of individualism the very basis of political life and of government. The South has retained the original conception of sovereign states.

Radical difference of policy between the North and the South.

All the political parties, so called, which we have seen arise—Federalist, National Republican, State-rights, Democrat, Whig, etc., have been merely ephemeral phantoms; the objects for which they have been struggling have been transitory. There are really but two parties in the Union, and they are geographical ones—the North and the South; they are contending, not for mere superiority, but for empire.

There is but one political question in America—free or slave labor.

There is but one political question, free or slave labor.

This diversity of position originated in the social difference of the Northern and Southern colonists respectively—the Puritan and the Cavalier—the man of ideas and the man of material enjoyment. That difference has been strengthened by climate. The one has lived amid the austerities of Nature, extracting from a reluctant soil his scanty living, and turning to manufactures, commerce, navigation, to

The North and South are different in origin, and made more so by climate.

better his condition. The lot of the other has been in genial countries, where the necessities of life spontaneously come to his hand. Incessant immigration from Europe, implying incessant and increasing competition, has continually enforced the principle of individualism in the one; the abrupt stoppage of all new-comers of the laboring class has encouraged the sentiment of independence, and marked more and more distinctly an unchanging boundary between master and servant in the other.

That radical difference—Individualism on one side, In-
Their principles of
 action are totally
 different. dependence on the other, is the essential
 cause of this dissension. The North per-
 sists in asserting that all men are equal. In
 the face of a thousand social facts before its own eyes, it fa-
 natically clings to that delusion. It insists that the crew
 shall manage the ship. The South, appealing to history
 and to present experience, declares that that asserted
 equality is nothing but a philanthropical fiction; that
 man never did exist without subordination; that, in its
 very nature, order implies a constrainer. The North is
 in error in making the individual its political basis; the
 South is right in regarding the family as the true social
 element. The one means selfishness and low attributes;
 the other those nobler qualities that adorn the best as-
 pects of humanity. The one means license that can only
 be kept down by force; the other spontaneous and cheer-
 ful subordination—the master, his wife, his children, his
 servants.

In the North the abolition of slavery and the encour-
 agement of immigration have destroyed totally all ideas
 of social inequality. Every hour individualism has be-
 come more and more intense. It has engendered a clam-
 or for equal political rights and equal distribution of
 property. It has conceded independence to women in
 regard to property; it is actually contemplating the same

in politics. It is weakening with fearful rapidity the marriage relation, and sapping society and morals by increasing the facilities for divorce. It forgets that the subordination of

Dreadful social condition of the democracies of the North.

sexes is the very basis of the family, and that the family ought to be the basis of the whole social system. The Northern legislator represents nothing but himself. He imposes heavy taxation without restraint; it increases his own emolument, and gives an opportunity for profitable jobbery among his supporters. Personally he has little to be taxed. His interests are antagonistical to those of his constituents. He is only interested to find how far he can go with impunity, and hence the government of which he is a member must necessarily be ex-

Their corruption has infected the federal government.

travagant and corrupt. Demoralization and political debauchery have extended from the municipal and state governments of the North to the federal government at Washington. The United States Senate Chamber has degenerated into an auction-room for presidential candidates. The Roman empire was put up to auction once, and the rabble soldiery who sold it were paid in hard cash; but our republic is outraged every fourth year; it is sold on credit, the successful bidder being expected to make his payments out of spoils extorted from the people.

On the other hand, in the South, the development of slavery and the stoppage of immigration has strengthened the dogma of race inequality. The descendants of the English Cavalier will never consort with the black. There must be a distinction between the master and his laborer. The master, from the circumstances of his life, must ever be the steadfast friend of property.

Opposite consequences of Southern principles.

Hence race equality in the North is pitted against race inequality in the South; and since forms of government

must take their shape from the ideas and necessities of society, there arises an unavoidable antagonism between the statesmanship of the two sections. It is an antagonism which is radical and permanent; it is one that no compromise can end.

What possible chance is there that the North will awaken from her dream and shake off her delusion? Does she not universally impute the wonderful prosperity she has experienced to the superiority of her institutions, when in truth it has been due to federal legislation, which has, for the encouragement of her industry, laid intolerable financial burdens upon the South—so intolerable that once they brought us to the very brink of civil war—which has promoted labor immigration to the utmost for the one, and prohibited it to the other? Is it to be hoped that the light of science will ever dispel the delusion as to the equality of man, the equality of races? Is it to be hoped that the North will shrink aghast, before it is too late, from the gulf into which her society is inevitably plunging? Wealth has already utterly demoralized that society. The facility with which it is acquired makes parents indulgent and children extravagant. Aristocratic young men, brought up in idleness, can not tolerate the pace at which their fathers have marched to riches, fast as it has been. In their licentious haste for acquisition, they fill the jails with counterfeiters and forgers, and stock society with legalized thieves. Trade teaches them sharp practice in defrauding one another. A spurious charity substitutes prisons for gibbets; it refuses to execute a convicted murderess simply because she is a woman, and permits her to leave the bar at which she has been tried amid popular applause. The governors of states pardon criminals without stint, and turn them loose to renew their assaults on society.

There is no chance that the North can ever shake off its delusion.

Its society is on the verge of perdition

The professions feel the debasement; the pulpits are filled with sensation ministers and political preachers, seeking their own individual gains, and not in humility and truthfulness teaching morality, charity, holiness. The literature is so sordid, and intellectually so wretched, that it exerts no influence on public opinion, but leaves it to riot in its own wantonness. The laboring man, who might otherwise have been contented, is disturbed with suggestions of fictitious wealth; in periodical mobs he strikes for more wages and less time. He views askance the splendid abode of his more fortunate neighbor, with its lawns, conservatories, gardens, orchards, libraries, statues, pictures, carpets, and gilded furniture. The evil genius of society whispers in his ear that no man ever yet grew rich on his own labor; that an aristocrat is merely the quintessence of a mob of paupers, whose life-blood has been squeezed out of them to give fortune and consideration to him. Under the guise of charity the poor are demanding hospitals, supported at an expense of millions extorted from the great cities by compulsory taxation—retreats in which they may spend the winter in idleness, or where their children may be reared from birth. But institutions of charity, instead of increasing in number, should perpetually diminish, and be replaced by those of industry. They are only a remnant of monastic mediæval times. It is not enough that the poor have primary schools in which the elements of learning required by humble life are taught; they demand academies and colleges, which they compel the rich to sustain. They ask what better title God has given to the land than to the air, and why it is not as lawful for them to repossess themselves of the former as to breathe without interruption or purchase the latter. The Irish or German immigrant, who landed only yesterday, catches the agrarian contagion, and the Northern trading politician

And of agrarian
demoralization.

appeals to this as his justification for depriving the South of her rightful share in the Territories. These people, he says, having the power through universal suffrage, will appropriate our private estates if we do not give them the public lands in the West.

It was a maxim of Mr. Calhoun, that if a man who has nothing be allowed to rule, there can be no safety for property. The tenure of office and the tenure of estates will never be permitted to be stable. Arbitrary confiscations can be accomplished under the forms of law and by relentless taxation.

If we turn from the poor to the rich, the consequences of the dogma of equality are at once witnessed in social leveling, the insecurity of possession, the facility of chance fortune. The rich are the successful vulgar of yesterday; their children will inevitably return to a like vulgar condition to-morrow. Can we blame their epicurean life when we consider its uncertainty? Why should they not enjoy their own while it is yet in their possession? Let them eat and drink, for to-morrow they die. The gold of California, the wealth of the South, has been poured in an unceasing, a living stream into New York. The wealthy classes of that city are in licentiousness little short of the depravity of old Rome. Jeweled ladies, in extravagant attire, sweep through the streets, or in opera-houses and theatres, in all the ogling harlotry of high life, wave their fans to troops of hermaphrodite youths.

The Northern system must fail through the demoralization it is producing among the people; through public and private luxury; through sectional strifes for sectional purposes; through the carelessness of the taxed classes about public affairs; through inefficiency in the administration of the law. Its government will be acquiesced

Its wealthy classes
are licentious.

Its municipal gov-
ernments have
failed.

in only so long as there lingers any hope of its adequacy. Distrust is already commencing to display itself in the cities. New York, acknowledging her own incapacity, appeals to the state to rule her. She changes the tyrant, but she will never get rid of the tyranny.

In the South, country life has an ascendancy over city life in social and political power; in the North it is the reverse. Hence it is that the influence of the foreign element is bearing down every thing before it. In Great Britain the population of foreigners in a population of nearly twenty-one millions is little more than a quarter of one per cent. In our Southern country the ratio is probably about the same. But in twenty-nine of the principal cities of the North it is actually thirty-six per cent.

We do not blame men who cut themselves loose from a ship which they see is hopelessly on fire. And is the South to be blamed when she thus contemplates the social consequences of the dogma she has ever repudiated—the dogma of the equality of man—and seeks to deliver herself from what she discerns to be its inevitable catastrophe?

The dissolution of the Union was written in the Declaration of Independence; it was foreshadowed in the Constitution. Not all the advantages of the federal bond, and doubtless they have been great, can prevent that issue. So long as the North makes the equality of men and individualism its living principles of action—so long as the South has founded her society on ideas that are totally antagonistic, a conflict is inevitable. The little questions and little parties that half a century has produced are giving place to the greater question and grander parties that have underlain them all, and that now are on the eve of asserting their political power.

It is ruled and ruined by foreign vagrants.

The Constitution contained the germ of the dissolution of the Union.

The guarantees of the Constitution have spontaneously become absolutely worthless. That instrument contains within itself the means of its own perversion to the domination of the North and the subjugation of the South. The character of the government may be completely changed without violating any constitutional forms. Constitutions are intended to protect minorities against the aggressions of majorities; but the best of them is powerless for protection under a government whose ultimate organization, by the exercise of federal numbers, may be made to conform to the wishes of the dominant section. By a majority of two thirds of both houses and three fourths of the states, the entire government may be changed.

The guarantees of the Constitution have become worthless.

If the present ratio of increase of the North over the South should continue for twenty years, and especially if the South should be excluded from the Territories, the North can legally and constitutionally reorganize all the departments of the government, and radically change its character.

The North will dominate over and despoil the South.

The equality of numbers which existed between the two sections at the origin of the government—for they were equal—and their consequent equality of power, has been destroyed by the progress of events, which forbid all hope of its restoration. The disparity between them will advance to a point at which the South will be utterly powerless to withstand the encroachment of the North. We have only to see how they stood a century ago, how they stand now, and what must be their relation ten, twenty, or fifty years from this time. And hence arises for the Southern people that gravest of all questions, How much longer can they continue in the Union with safety and without humiliation? Are they willing to sink again to the level of colonial dependence, to exchange the imperial robes of sovereignty for the liv-

ery of political servitude? Shall the Union become the link of Mazentius, binding together the living and the dead?

But not alone does danger arise from this inevitable progress of population; with greater alarm may the South look at the aggressive disposition suddenly displayed by Northern ideas. The Republican party of the North has added to the majority of numbers majority of force. It has ceased to esteem political virtues or moral elements of government. It looks only to physical power. The states of the North have become nothing Alarming progress of Abolitionism. more than geographical designations. They repudiate or disdain separate sovereignty, and march in a mass. Let us see how they propagate their ideas. Before 1840 the Abolitionists were an insignificant faction. In that year they nominated a candidate for the Presidency, and obtained only about 7000 votes. In 1844 they brought him forward again, and gained 62,000 votes. In 1852 they reached 157,000 votes. Up to this time they had not one vote in the electoral college, but in 1856 they suddenly increased to 1,342,000 votes! They gained the voices of eleven states, with 114 electoral votes. Their candidate came not far from a triumphant election. It was plain that the North was not going to permit any farther extension of slavery. The demand of that party has steadily risen with the display of its unquestioned power. At first it was no slavery in the District of Columbia; then a restraint on the internal slave-trade; then no more slave territory, no more slave states, no national legislation for the extradition of slaves; then the universal denationalization of slavery; and at last, by the recognition of Hayti, the equality of foreign negro powers. If we inquire, Has the fundamental idea of the North shown any signs of change? Is there any reasonable expectation that it will pass away, never more to return,

or will ultimately triumph and domineer? we have our answer.

Such ideas will triumph, but they will triumph in anarchy and among ruins. The condition of the North is fast approaching to that of Rome in the time of Pompey, when, as has been affirmed, not even an angel from heaven could have saved it. That universal education on which she is relying for deliverance will only disappoint her. Education has nothing to do with these things. In Central Asia there are relatively more persons who know how to read than there are in New England, and what is the condition of that vast country? Moreover, intelligence joined to wickedness has ever produced the worst men. The North is so intoxicated with the pursuit of

The North has delivered itself up to Individualism,

wealth that she is absolutely in danger of losing her own soul. Individualism has gone to such an extent that persons can not co-operate on any other ground than that of private interest. A systematic hypocrisy pervades all her society in every grade. A moral corruption has ensued from the objectless concentration of wealth. It would have been very different had there been some social idea kept in view; very different had there been conjoined to this avarice a devotion to the advancement of art, philosophy, literature, science, or to the development of reason. But instead of this, the North has no sympathy with high intelligence; she respects only social activity; she persuades herself that the crew on deck have as extensive a horizon as the man at the mast-head, and derides contemplative intelligence at the general point of view. Occupied with the gains of the passing moment, she cares nothing if the state be ruined by the overbidding of demagogues, provided their promises are for her profit. Yet if she would only open her eyes she would see how transitory are her possessions; that noth-

And can not help
being ruled by its
rabble,

ing can prevent a redistribution of property except a large standing army, which is the only possible guarantee for her society. That will have to come, though it may come at first under the guise of a police. The idea that government is a sovereignty of numbers excludes all virtue and all wisdom; it makes the rabble infallible and omnipotent; it is an atheistic idea, substituting the wild whim of an irresponsible majority for conscience, and justice, and the ordinances of God.

Then it simply comes to this: the Southern States are
And must come to a
military despotism. silently marching in funeral procession to their own tomb along the path of Destiny. The North early discovered the inevitable advantage that must accrue to her from the stoppage of the African slave-trade and from contemporaneous free immigration from Europe. She has won the game of empire. In seizing the prize, it is for her to take care that she does not grasp a shadow instead of the substance; that she does not surrender in the intoxication of success the very principle that has given her strength. A democracy must necessarily have a chief. Aristocracies need none. And so irresistible is the tendency to centralization in human affairs that no one can successfully struggle against it. The North will find in the ruin of the South an empire with the States as provinces, and the Territories as consular governments. The generals to whom she will be compelled to intrust the administration of the subjugated countries will ingratiate themselves with their troops, as did the commanders of the legions of old. Each departmental army will have its favorite candidate for supreme power, and proclaim its own Emperor, as was the case in Rome.

If the question already propounded be again pressed upon us, Are the causes of our national alienation tempo-

rary or permanent? Do they result from accidental derangements, or have they insinuated themselves inextricably into our system? Can they be ended by compromises, and harmony be truly restored? This must be

The differences between the sections are irreconcilable.

our reply—that the alienation depends on an intrinsic constitution of our nation. The people of the North and those of the South have had a different origin; they have lived in different climates; they are actuated by different ideas; they have had a different history; there is absolutely no hope of restoring equality between them. Power has passed to the North, and the South, if she remain in the Union, must be in humiliation, her labor and her society at the mercy of her rival.

What then remains but secession?

Secession will release us from all farther vexatious entanglements with the North; it will leave our rivals free to pursue to its consequences their principle of human equality, and us to develop ours of subordination; it will separate yoke-fellows who are unequally matched, who have no motive of action in common. The North may rejoice, since perhaps she may persuade herself that she is delivered from the responsibility she so deprecates in our sin. We shall certainly have no reason to regret that we are no longer involved in her impending social catastrophe.

The only salvation of the South is in separation.

It will give us a present imperial domain of more than 800,000 square miles, inferior to no region upon earth in fertility—a domain which, as experience shows, is destined to furnish clothing for the whole world. Its genial climate yields every thing that man can desire. We shall have a population of ten millions to begin with—a population at once religious and

Advantages that may be expected from secession.

Population and territorial position of the South.

conservative, and yet capable of rapid advancement in civilization. Moreover, we must remember the remark of Montesquieu, that it is better to have a great treasury than a great people, and our cotton will supply that. Our land is stored with untold resources of mineral and metallic wealth. We shall have a surplus revenue of two hundred millions, a shore-line four times the extent of theirs. Masters of the mouth of the Mississippi, we shall hold in dependency all the vast regions drained by its farthest streams. As the Romans, basing their political life on a slave system, and availing themselves of the advantages of an interior sea, soon brought their feeble neighbors into subjection, solidly establishing themselves all round the Mediterranean, so the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean will be a Mediterranean for us. Feeble communities, such as those of Mexico and Central America, can be easily conquered by arms, or still more easily by gold. They will submit to the fate of Egypt, and Syria, and Greece. Cuba, Jamaica, Hayti, will follow the fate of Cyprus, Sardinia, Sicily. Across a narrow isthmus is the Pacific Ocean, and where the West merges into the East are the venerable empires and the wealth of Asia.

We shall have from Chesapeake Bay to the Rio Grande a homogeneous governing population, united by a common interest, and in slavery having a common political bond. Our social economy will necessarily make us a military people; our extensive sea contact will make us a naval power. If the slave-trade be reopened, every Southern citizen must become a permanent soldier. It was so in Rome. Retaining in our control the means of withholding or supplying the raw material on which the chief industry of Western Europe depends, our friendship must be courted by the most civilized states of that continent.

Military character
of the new republic.

There is no danger that the North will resist our separation if only we present a bold front. The North will not resist secession. True, the Union has been an inestimable privilege to her, but it is the habit of commercial communities to be accustomed to changes in partnerships. They are broken down, and modified, and renewed to suit the necessities of the moment. She does not realize that in fact we are two distinct people, and perhaps will satisfy herself with a delusive hope that if for a few years we part, we shall at last gravitate back to the Union. She will make no war; or if, taking advantage of the vexation of the moment, her trading politicians goad her on to coercion, it will be a feeble attempt. The avaricious spirit of merchandise counts the cost of all its undertakings; it will compute what the Union is worth, and whether a war will pay.

One of our statesmen, who is profoundly acquainted with the character of our antagonist, has declared that he will undertake to drink all the blood that will ever be shed in this struggle.) A peaceful separation it will be; and if not, what have we to fear? Accustomed to horses and arms from our youth, we can carry devastation through the valleys of the North, and lay her rich cities under ransom. In the ear of the Puritan we will call the roll of our slaves under the shadow of the Bunker monument.

Nor must it be forgotten that while in this undertaking we are united as one man, our antagonist will be divided. She will be divided into contending parties, A great party, which for many years ruled the nation, will, when the emergency comes, take sides with us. Regarding the dissension as nothing more than a struggle for spoils, it will complacently plume itself in the expectation that a new compromise can be effected through its alliance with us, and that we may participate together in another pe-

riod of power. Political parties never look beyond the platform on which they stand. They only discern when it is too late that a new epoch has come, and that their functions are ended.

But not only may we count upon the unwarlike character of our rival, the pusillanimity engendered by trade, the delusion of old party associations; we shall also have troops of friends in those who are connected with us by mercantile transactions, who are gaining fortunes out of our wealth. From the injustice that has for so many years been practiced toward us in diverting our riches to the financial centres of the North, we shall extract a compensation at last. That prize is too valuable to be lightly surrendered; it will yield staunch, though they may not be disinterested friends.

If from America we turn to Europe we have every reason for encouragement. In the saying, now become proverbial among us, that cotton is king, there is a profound political truth. Manufacturing industry is almost entirely dependent on our agricultural prosperity, and so intimately affiliated is one branch of business with another, that a cessation, or even an interruption in our customary supply of that fibre would shake the financial world to its centre. So completely has England become depend-

And among these there will be many friends to the South.

The South will be aided by England, ent on us in this respect that her interests are now identified with ours. She is reconciled to slave labor by its fruits. Her interests have corrected her philanthropical aberrations. In Liverpool and Manchester our institution finds able and energetic support. Ideas of social inequality, such as we have adopted, have long furnished her with rules of government; indeed, as history shows, she has ever been under their guidance. Her aristocratic and ruling classes can not do otherwise than look with favor on our attitude; they can

not help seeing in us the counterpart of themselves. Her lower and a portion of her middle people, who are still infatuated with the delusions inculcated by Clarkson and Wilberforce, may hold aloof, or perhaps be found in opposition—the Northern dogma of the equality of men commends itself to their approval—but then they can exercise no influence in determining national action.

Moreover, England has not forgotten the events of the American Revolution. If the colonies were right in accomplishing one separation, are not the states right in accomplishing another? The bitter cup of which she was once compelled to taste she may aid in presenting to her enemy, for in what other relation has she ever regarded the Union than that of an enemy? She has not seen unconcerned its prodigious material development, and especially the increase of its maritime power. The duels of the frigates, the repulses of the last war, are not forgotten. If even she had no consideration for us, she will go as far as she may to break the Union down.

Should the North blockade our coast, she will deride its power, and find means of furnishing us with supplies and munitions of war. Her influence with other great powers will be exerted in our behalf. To her we shall be indebted for recognition as an independent nation.

Of France we perhaps might despair were it not for her enlightened ruler. Her American souvenirs are very different from those of England. She prides herself that the glories of the Union were kindled at the flame on her altar; that, in the supreme moment of colonial triumph at Yorktown, French soldiers and French ships were present. She sees in transatlantic maritime power a counterpoise to the power of England.

But to her emperor, next after the glory of his country, is the stability of his dynasty. The history of seven-

Whose old recollections will incite her to retaliation.

The French Emperor will befriend the South,

ty years has taught him that that depends on England. To England his personal obligations are profound. He always will, as far as an independent monarch may, acknowledge those obligations. In matters not of vital concernment to France, he will gratify the wishes of England. In our struggle he will be found in close alliance with her.

And hence secession is the road to prosperity and glory.

Thus, in whatever direction we look, at home or abroad, the prospect is encouraging. To remain where we are is to await the inevitable approach of civil death—to secede is to secure prosperity and national glory.

Such were some of the arguments urged by the Cotton States on the Border States; but not until many weeks after South Carolina had taken her fatal determination and tasted of the mortal fruit of secession did Virginia follow her example, and then not with a conscience convinced. Virginia saw the hollowness of the allurements; she knew that upon her must fall the first and heaviest blows. There was something melancholy and grand in the motives that decided her at last to make a common cause with her impetuous companion. They bore no small resemblance to those which the great English poet has so exquisitely described on a not dissimilar occasion:

Virginia adopts these views reluctantly.

“No, no; I feel
The link of Nature draw me. Flesh of my flesh,
Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy state
Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe
“For with thee
Certain my resolution is to die.”—*Paradise Lost*, Book ix.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SECESSION—ITS PERILS.

Though the South had become committed to the support and promotion of Slavery, and was ready to enter upon Secession in its behalf, there were among the leading men some who foresaw the ruin that would be inevitably occasioned by that measure, and protested against it.

Speech of the future Vice-President of the Confederate States against Secession and in defense of the Union.

FOR many years before she took the fatal step of secession, the South could think of nothing but slavery. To understand her condition we have only to look at the subjects considered in any of her annual Conventions, such, for instance, as that at Knoxville, where a thousand delegates were present. Their time was occupied in discussions respecting the removal of the African slave squadron; the exclusion of abolition reporters; exemption of one slave from liability for debt; necessity of increased slave labor at the South; the Fugitive Slave Law; approval of the introduction of slavery into Nicaragua; organization of slave police. So engrossing had the slave idea become that it was the standard by which every thing was measured.

Infatuated with that one idea, she could not perceive that secession meant armies, war, centralization of civil power, despotism. It meant that even before warlike resources could be brought into operation there must be conscriptions, forced loans, arbitrary contributions. It meant suspension of the habeas corpus, confiscation of estates, martial law, a reign of conspirators, and a victim—that victim herself. Never was a people more thoroughly victimized. In a

The South becomes occupied with the single idea of slavery.

It blinds her to the true meaning of secession,

And that state-rights must altogether disappear, few months the state-rights for which she had risen had utterly disappeared; every thing was irresistibly concentrating in Richmond. The very men who had brought on the war to maintain, as they affirmed, the right of a state to secede, were the first to deny that right when it was asserted against themselves, and were urgent to put a state that alleged it under martial law. The Southern people soon exhibited that awful condition into which Tacitus says the Romans fell during the reign of Domitian; they lived in muteness. They were perpetually looking for a rainbow in a shower of blood. Would they ever have rushed into secession if they could have foreseen all this?

History shows that it is far better for a nation to constitute one great empire than be composed of many little states. The Roman peasantry, delivered from their petty local tyrants, were always attached to the empire, which put an end to little wars, and gave them peace. Had the South succeeded in her attempt, there would have been interminable intestine wars, in which the smaller states would have been ground to dust. In her unreflecting haste, South Carolina forgot that in the commonwealth of nations it is physical power alone that determines position.

However, there were not wanting in the South men of great experience and of large understanding, some of them destined to play a conspicuous part in the grand drama that was at hand, who, knowing that too often the very substance of ambition is only the shadow of a dream, saw through all the specious fallacies of secession, and raised a warning voice to their countrymen. Among such was Alexander H. Stephens, shortly to become Vice-President of the Confederacy. In the secession Convention of Georgia he said:

Secession resisted by Mr. Stephens.

“This step—secession—once taken, can never be recall-

His speech in the
Convention
against it.

ed, and all the baleful and withering consequences that must follow (as you will see) will rest on this Convention for all coming time. When we and our posterity shall see our lovely South desolated by the demon of war, which this act of yours will inevitably provoke—when our green fields and waving harvests shall be trodden down by a murderous soldiery, and the fiery car of war sweeps over our land, our temples of justice laid in ashes, and every horror and desolation upon us, who but this Convention will be held responsible for it, and who but him who shall have given his vote for this unwise and ill-timed measure shall be held to a strict account for this suicidal act by the present generation, and be cursed and execrated by posterity in all coming time for the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate?

It will bring an in-
vasion of the
South,

“Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reasons you can give that will satisfy yourselves in calmer moments—what reasons you can give to your fellow-sufferers in the calamity that it will bring upon us. What reasons can you give to the nations of the earth to justify it? They will be the calm and deliberate judges of this case, and to what cause or one overt act can you point on which to rest the plea of justification? What right has the North assailed? what interest of the South has been invaded? what justice has been denied? and what claim, founded in justice and right, has been unsatisfied? Can any of you name to-day one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the government at Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge an answer. On the other hand, let me show the facts (and believe me, gentlemen, I am not here the advocate of the North, but I am here the

And is utterly un-
justifiable.

The government
has invaded no
right of the South.

friend, the firm friend and lover of the South and her institutions, and for this reason I speak thus plainly and faithfully for yours, mine, and every other man's interest (the words of truth and soberness), of which I wish you to judge, and I will only state facts which are clear and undeniable, and which now stand in the authentic records of the history of our country.

“When we of the South demanded the slave-trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three fifths representation in Congress for our section, was it not granted? When we demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution, and again ratified and strengthened in the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850?

It conceded the slave-trade for twenty years, and a Fugitive Slave Law.

“Do you reply that in many instances they have violated this compact, and have not been faithful to their engagements? As individuals and local communities they may have done so, but not by the sanction of government, for that has always been true to Southern interests. Again, look at another fact. When we asked that more territory should be added, that we might spread the institution of slavery, did they not yield to our demands in giving us Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, out of which four states have been carved, and ample territory left for four more, to be added in due time, if you by this unwise and impolitic act do not destroy this hope, and perhaps by it lose all, and have your last slave wrenched from you by stern military rule, or by the vindictive decree of a universal emancipation, which may reasonably be expected to follow?

It has obtained for the South territory.

“But again, gentlemen, what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the general government?

We have always had the control of it, and can yet have if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been.

The South has had a preponderance of places and profits.

We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the executive department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North. Although nearly four fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the Free States, yet a majority of the court has always been from the South. This we have required, so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner, we have been equally watchful over our interests in the Legislative branch of the government in choosing the presiding officer (*pro tem.*) of the Senate—we have had twenty-four, and they eleven. Speakers of the House we have had twenty-three, and they twelve. While the majority of the representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have generally secured the speaker, because he, to a great extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control in every other department of the general government. Attorney generals we have had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers we have had eighty-six, and they but fifty-four. While three fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the Free States, because of their greater commercial interests, we have, nevertheless, had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world markets for our cotton, tobacco, sugar, on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher officers of both army and navy, while a larger proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from

the North. Equally so of clerks, auditors, and comptrollers filling the executive department; the records show for the last fifty years that of the three thousand thus employed, we have had more than two thirds, while we have only one third of the white population of the republic.

“Again, look at another fact—and one, be assured, in which we have a great and vital interest—
The North has been taxed for its benefit. it is that of revenue, or means of supporting government. From official documents we learn that more than three fourths of the revenue collected has uniformly been raised from the North.

“Pause now, while you have the opportunity, to contemplate, carefully and candidly, these important things. Look at another necessary branch of government, and learn from stern statistical facts how matters stand in that department. I mean the mail and post-office privileges that we now enjoy under the general government, as it has been for years past. The expense for the transportation of the mail in the Free States was, by the Report of the Postmaster General for 1860, a little over \$13,000,000, while the income was \$19,000,000. But in the Slave States the transportation of the mail was \$14,716,000, and the revenue from the mail only \$8,000,265, leaving a deficit of \$6,715,735 to be supplied by the North for our accommodation, and without which we must have been entirely cut off from this most essential branch of the government.

“Leaving out of view for the present the countless millions of dollars you must expend in a war with the North, with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in battle and offered up as sacrifices on the altar of your ambition—for what? I ask again. Is it for the overthrow of the American government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their

sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of *Right, Justice, and Humanity?* I must declare to you here, as I have often done before, and it has also been declared by the greatest and wisest statesmen and patriots of this and other lands, that the American government is the best and freest of all governments, the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most inspiring in its principles, to elevate the race of men, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon.

The government is the best that has ever been instituted.

“Now for you to attempt to overthrow such a government as this, under which we have lived for more than three quarters of a century, in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety, while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquillity, accompanied with unbounded prosperity and rights unassailed, is the height of madness, folly, and wickedness, to which I will neither lend my sanction nor my vote.”

The wickedness of attempting its overthrow.

So spake the future Vice-President of the Confederate States. He saw that the waxen image of the Confederacy would lose its form when set in the fire of war, and that it was not the North, but the South, that must submit to invasion. He knew that a rebellion thrown on the defensive is lost. And truly did he foretell the hideous desolation, the unutterable ruin that was provoked. These things he said in the Convention of Georgia in 1861. Whoso passed through the stifling smoke that rose from the wreck of the cities of Georgia in 1864 saw an accomplished prophecy.

I.—H H

CHAPTER XXIX.

REPLY OF THE NORTH TO THE ACCUSATIONS OF THE SOUTH.

The North affirms that the alleged sacrifices of the South on behalf of the Union are imaginary ; that Virginia had no claims to the Northwest Territory ; that, on her own principles, it belonged to the whole Union ; that the North has chiefly paid for all the territory since acquired, and has borne the main burden of taxation ; that her conscience has been outraged by the Fugitive Slave Law ; that the South has acted ignobly in the matter of the three-fifths slave computation ; that she originated tariffs and made use of them as long as it suited her purpose, thereby creating her cotton and sugar industry. That her deplorable condition is not due to unfair legislation, but to her slave institution and slaveholding demagogues ; that, whatever may be said of the state of society in the North, it is incomparably better than that of the South.

THE Free States were not without a reply to the accusations of the South. I shall therefore, in this chapter, follow the course pursued in Chapter XXVI., collecting and arranging the several facts and arguments presented by various writers, members of Legislatures, and other public speakers, and endeavor to present from their comprehensive and lucid statements a clear view of that side of the case.

It is affirmed that the North has insidiously grasped at the Territories, and secured of them more than a just share. Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and other Mexican possessions, have been acquired by the Union, but of the hundreds of millions that they have directly or indirectly cost, at least five sixths have been obtained by indirect taxation from the Free States.

The new domains have been chiefly paid for by the North.

The South points to what she designates the magnificent surrender by Virginia of the Northwest Territory, and affirms that all the advantage she gained in return

was the three-fifths slave computation, and the enactment of a fugitive slave law. But, as was forcibly declared by the other states at that time, what would the claims of Virginia to that Territory have amounted to had they not been made good by the blood and treasure of her sister states? What was it that Virginia herself, when her interest had somewhat changed, said, in the resolutions of her Legislature in 1847: "*Resolved unanimously*, That all territory which may be acquired by the arms of the United States, or yielded by treaty with any foreign power, belongs to the several states of the Union as their joint and common property, in which each and all have equal rights." Out of her own mouth let her be judged!

Virginia had really no claim to the Northwest Territory.

As to the three-fifths slave computation, it was not the equivalent of any imaginary territorial cession by the South, but the equivalent of something that now may very properly be brought into light. It was expected that the necessary revenue for federal purposes would be raised by direct taxation, not by customs, and it was provided that representation and taxation should be apportioned on the basis of population. If, therefore, the three-fifths slave computation was conceded, an increased share of the public burden was the equivalent. But how did the matter actually turn out? Four times only since the establishment of the government has direct taxation been resorted to, and then to insignificant amounts. Two millions, three millions, six millions, three millions—or fourteen millions in all, and that in the course of more than seventy years—less than two hundred thousand dollars a year. The South has exercised the advantage she gained, but she has never had the magnanimity to suggest a new and just equivalent—exercised it she has to some purpose: it has

Explanation of the three-fifths slave computation.

The South has never paid any equivalent tax.

given her one eleventh of the House of Representatives, a vote that on many occasions has secured her a majority. It enabled her to elect Mr. Jefferson in 1800, and to change the very destiny of the nation. It has been the true cause of the monopoly she had for so many years in the government. The consideration for which the North entered into that agreement thus failed. Magnanimously, though greatly to her detriment, the North acquiesced in that result.

We were brought by South Carolina to the verge of civil war in 1832 on the question of the tariff. Who was it that first constrained us to that mode of obtaining revenue? We have just seen who was the gainer by the suppression of direct taxation. Protective tariffs were the policy of the South: at their inception they were resisted with an earnest opposition by the North. Did not Mr. Calhoun advise that policy, expecting that the extension of domestic manufactures would increase the market for cotton? That great staple actually owes its successful cultivation to this policy of protection. By the revenue law of 1789 a duty of three cents a pound was laid on imported cotton, expressly for the purpose of fostering its domestic production. There was not for many years a pound of cotton spun—no, not for candle-wicks to light the humble industry of the cottages of the North, which did not pay that tribute to the Southern planter. No state in the Union has derived greater advantage from the protective policy than Louisiana. She owes the sugar culture to it. It would not be difficult to show that a tax of five millions a year is paid for the benefit of planters of that Southern state.

But of all the grievances of which the South complains, Northern interference with slavery is by far the most important. It is affirmed that the Free States, partly

It was the South,
not the North, that
originated tariffs.

She thereby created
her cotton and sug-
ar culture.

through their innate fanaticism, and partly through foreign incitement, have gradually become hostile to her institutions; that abolitionism, taking its origin among them, has gradually attained its present fearful proportions. It is perfectly true that, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution and long afterward, there was no sectional difference between the North and the South on the subject of slavery. It was by both regarded as a social and political evil. It is the South that has changed, not the North. It was not the discovery that the climate of the North is unpropitious to slavery, but that the climate of the South is admirably adapted to the production of cotton, which was the cause of that change.

The North has never changed on the Slavery Question,

But the South did change because of her cotton interest.

The anti-slavery sentiment, then, was not engendered by Northern fanaticism and developed by Northern perversity. In this respect the North remains as she has always been. She participates in a sentiment common to modern civilization. Had it not been for the invention of mechanical improvements, which stimulated the cultivation of cotton, and gave birth to an interest in the South powerful enough to override all other interests, and depending for its perpetuation on negro slavery, the two sections of the country would have been found in accordance on this point at the present day. As to the sale by the North of its slaves to the South, nothing of the kind ever took place.

As respects the Fugitive Slave Law, it is not denied that the North, true to the instincts of liberty that have ever guided her, has been profoundly agitated by the demand that she should join in returning the bondman to his oppressor. If in this individuals, and even states, are accused of delinquency, may they not securely appeal to

It is true that the conscience of the North was outraged by the Fugitive Slave Law.

conscience and the noblest sentiments of the human heart? In the refined and elegant society of Charleston itself, what would be the verdict on that man who should needlessly go out of his way to intercept or hunt down a barefoot fleeing slave? Is there in all that Southern land a mother to be found who, if she should detect a way-worn negro woman, with her infant on her back, escaping to freedom, would voluntarily give the alarm? May the vengeance of God fall heavily on us if we are ever seen abetting that institution of atrocious wrong and unutterable wickedness, which sells the husband away from his wife, the mother from her child; which exposes on an auction-block, to the highest bidder, the young girl just entering on womanhood, and outrages by such an abominable spectacle the whole civilized world.

At the beginning of our national life the South in many respects had greatly the advantage of us. How is it that we have steadily risen to wealth and power, while she has as steadily declined? In 1790 Virginia had double the population of New York; in fifty years that proportion was reversed, and New York had double the population of Virginia. With that increase in numbers, so vastly had her wealth increased that the single city of New York alone was more valuable than the whole State of Virginia. Massachusetts and North Carolina started not unequally in their career of independence, and now the annual product of the manufactures, mines, and mechanic arts of the former are worth double the entire cotton crop of all the Southern States. Boston, the capital of the one, has carried the national flag into every part of the world, and made her intellectual power felt wherever the English language is spoken; but who has ever heard of Beaufort, which ought to have been a great commercial capital to the other? In Massachusetts there are fewer than nine-

The North has
been advancing
while the South
has been declining,

teen hundred white and free-colored persons over twenty years of age who can not read and write; in North Carolina there are of the same class more than eighty thousand in that unfortunate condition. To them must be added nearly three hundred thousand slaves who are left in animal ignorance.

It is in vain to say that American independence has proved a delusion — a misfortune to the South: that it were better if the Revolution had never occurred. It is true that the commercial prosperity of the Slave States has gone. The importations of Charleston are less now than they were a century ago. Virginia was at that time the leading commercial province; South Carolina the next. But, had the country still remained in subjection to England, to England those states must have resorted, as they do to the North, for every article of use and luxury.

And is indebted to others for the most ordinary domestic articles. Thence they would have derived their domestic, manufacturing, commercial supplies, matches to light their cigars, and capital to build their railroads, coffee-mills, steam-ships, and all the unmentionable articles of female fashions. Not without truth is it said, "You want Bibles, brooms, buckets, and books, and you go to the North; you want pens, ink, paper, wafers, envelopes, and you go to the North; you want shoes, hats, handkerchiefs, umbrellas, pocket-knives, and you go to the North; you want furniture, crockery, glass-ware, pianos, and you go to the North; you want toys, primers, school-books, fashionable apparel, machinery, medicines, tomb-stones, and a thousand other things, and to the North you go for them."

How is it that in this manner the Slave States have become literally helpless? How is it that the mass of the people are steeped in poverty and ignorance? How is it that in the very pursuit to which they have restricted themselves, agriculture, the value of the same products

at the North is annually fifty millions of dollars more than theirs? The hay crop alone of the Free States brings more in the market than all the cotton, tobacco, and rice put together, no matter if it is consumed in the feeding of the livestock. The milk sold in the three cities New York, Philadelphia, Boston, is worth more than all the pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine that the South boasts so much of producing. So completely is she outstripped in the race for wealth, that the Free State of New York, as appears from the census, could alone buy up eight of the Slave States, and have one hundred and fifty-three millions of dollars still left in her pocket. The entire wealth of the Free States is double that of the Slave States, even including an exorbitant estimate for the value of the slaves!

If from the actual state of things we turn to the future prospect, what is it that the census shows? In the older Slave States the crops are annually decreasing. In the Legislature of Virginia it has been said: "See the widespreading ruin produced in the South—a sparse population of freemen, deserted habitations, fields without culture. The wolf, driven back long since by the approach of man, is now returning, after the lapse of a hundred years, to howl over the desolations of slavery." "In that part of Virginia below tide-water, the whole face of the country wears an appearance of almost utter desolation. The very spot on which our ancestors landed a little more than two hundred years ago, seems to be on the eve of again becoming the haunt of wild beasts." On all the old Atlantic Southern States the dusky night of political death is settling. Virginia, once great and prosperous, is sinking under the poison of slavery.

Must there not be something absolutely wrong at the bottom of all this decline and degradation? Let us com-

Her prospects, by her own confession, are becoming deplorable.

pare together any Northern with any Southern State, and we see at once what that something is. Take, for instance, Free Michigan and Slave Arkansas. They were admitted together into the Union in 1836. At the end of twenty years the Free State had thrice the population of the Slave; five times the assessed value of farms, farming implements, and machinery; eight times the number of public schools.

Comparison of a
Free and Slave
State.

The curse of the South—that which is the cause of all this desolation, neglected agriculture and unused privileges, this ruined soil, this want of manufactures and shipping, this ignorance, poverty, and utter wretchedness, is a tyrannical minority of slaveholding demagogues. In proportion to the non-slaveholding population, they are truly a minority.

The decline of the
South is due to its
slaveholding dema-
gogues,

In the fifteen Slave States there are only 346,000 slaveholders, and of them nearly 69,000 own but one slave; and yet, such is the reign of terror they have produced, that there is absolutely no legislation except for slavery. The poor white trash are deceived and outraged; thousands of them die without so much as a knowledge of the alphabet. They are too ignorant to perceive their own power; too infatuated to detect the cause of their own degradation. They lend themselves to the appointment, from the class that oppresses them, of constables, mayors, sheriffs, magistrates, judges, representatives, senators, governors. Their insanity has for forty-eight years imposed slaveholding Presidents on the nation.

Who operate on the
poor whites.

But it is not in the nature of things that this delusion should much longer continue; not much longer will it be possible to exaggerate grossly the relative value of the cotton crop, nor hide the fact that slavery yields but one per cent. on its acknowledged investment. The industry of an unshackled population has given to the North an

But the slave imposture can not be much longer continued.

accumulation of nearly four thousand millions of dollars. In presence of such a spectacle, not much longer will the forests of the South be filled with the sighing of the slave and the clank of the negro-trader's coffer-chains as he goes on his way to the Gulf. As soon as the North awakes to its ideas, and awake one day it inevitably will, and uses its vast strength of money—the four thousand millions it has accumulated—its vast strength of numbers, and its still more gigantic strength of educated intellect, it will tread this monster slavery under foot. From this imposture—worse than that of Korassan—the veil will be torn; its deluded worshipers will have from its black and hideous lips the sardonic taunt, “Ye would be dupes and victims, and ye are.”

It is an undeniable maxim that progressive improvement depends on industry, and industry on the compensation of labor. A stagnant condition is therefore the inevitable result in the South.

The slave system produces stagnation.

Persistence of habit, arising from such a condition, turns men at last into moving shadows, and makes them incapable of feeling and thinking. There can be no advancement in the Slave States, the slaves being in a stationary condition. Disturbance in any political system must ensue if there be an unequal progressive movement of the different parts.

Doubtless it is true that the condition of society in the Free States is not such as optimists might desire—that the rich are too often vulgar, and the poor too often insubordinate. There may be extravagance, but it is well to remember that “the order of advancement is riches, luxury, art.” Women suddenly made rich may sweep the streets with trains of costly silk, and gratify their pride with all the harlequin fashions of French trumpery, but their daughters will rise above that innocent

The inconvenience of immigration to the North is exaggerated.

vulgarity. The stream of foreign immigration undoubtedly may have on the social condition a depressing effect, but it must not be forgotten that however deleterious those influences may be, they are every year diminishing in force. A thousand immigrants intruding themselves on a feeble community may exert upon it a powerful effect, but what would they be if mixed up with a nation of a hundred millions? Moreover, in the nature of the thing, the evil is only temporary. The Irish immigrant recently landed may be ignorant, superstitious, turbulent, but how is it with his American-born son; still more, how is it with his grandsons? There is no part of the North which does not present such men among its most virtuous and valuable citizens, foremost in defense of the rights of property, and in the support of education and works of charity. On their patriotism the republic may securely rest.

Such are the advantages gained from educating the children of the "foreign vagrant." In the Slave States there are no schools for the colored peasantry—none even for the poor whites. It is unlawful to teach the negro; if he reads the Bible at all, he must do it by stealth. Where for him is that family bond which is affirmed to be the basis of the system of the South? His rights in that respect are altogether disowned. His marriage terminates at the whim of his master; by a like arbitrary dictate his offspring are separated from him.

In the North there is nothing answering to that fearful condition of things which President Buchanan, in his annual message, tells us is occurring in the South: "Many a matron retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and her children before the morning." "Pictorial hand-bills and inflammatory appeals" might be sent to every free laborer; if he should

There is no terrorism in its society,

spare time from his industry to look at them, they would only excite his merriment. Such things are never dangerous unless they suggest some outrageous and wide-spread wrong.

Of their family life, what is it that the free men of the North may truly say?—We are not obliged to whisper at our dinner-tables lest our servants should overhear. In our intercourse with one another there is no prohibited topic; we talk about what we please. There is no skeleton in our closet at home. Our domestics may be capricious and insolent, but we do not fear that they are spies. A coarse independence may shine forth from their open countenances, but they have no lineament that vexes us with the betrayal of precocious filial vice, or, worse than that, tortures us with the undeniable, the living proof of conjugal infidelity. A Carolinian lady has told us of that dreadful state of morals at the South, in which the wife and the daughter sometimes find their home a heart-rending scene of preference for the degraded domestic, or the colored daughter of the head of the family. There are, she says, alas! “too many families of which the contentions of Abraham’s household are a fair example.” Our wives and daughters are spared the anguish which their sisters whose lot has been cast in plantation life must endure. Slavery has inflicted its cruelties on the oppressed, but the justice of God has vindicated itself even in this world, and in the sorrow and shame of the family of the oppressor has offered a solemn monition of the inexorable award of that inevitable day in which whatever has been wrong shall be righted.

Nor espionage in
its families,

Who are spared the
anguish of slave
plantation life.

CHAPTER XXX.

ELECTION OF MR. LINCOLN.

The Slave Power, perceiving that it could no longer maintain itself under the forms of the Constitution against its antagonist, determined on Secession. For the purpose of obtaining the co-operation of all the Southern States it broke up the Democratic party, thereby insuring the election of the Republican candidate for the Presidency.

Position of the four Presidential candidates on the Slave Question. Platform of the Republican party. Nomination of Abraham Lincoln, who was elected President of the United States.

THE issue of the Kansas-Nebraska struggle had taught the South that it could not compete with the North for the possession of the Territories. The North, having the boundless population supplies of Europe to fall back upon, could put an emigrant into the disputed region at a cost far less than that at which the South could transfer a slaveholder or a slave. Moreover, the latter could only be done by depopulating the older states, whose political power diminished with the loss of every negro. Mr. Calhoun, in his speech on the admission of Michigan (1836), distinctly showed the advantages that the North was deriving from unrestricted immigrant population. He saw that the power of the Free States really lay in that.

Origin of the political power of the North.

It was early recognized by Mr. Calhoun.

In that respect the Slave States were in a hopeless condition.

To one who examined the condition of things from the general point of view, it was plain that the struggle had become hopeless for the South. Her political power in the republic rested on an alliance with the Democratic party of the North; but, though that party had pursued a course of conciliation, and even of subserviency, to its ally, there was a

point beyond which it could not pass. If the Slave States were to remain associated on terms of equality with the Free, they must be furnished with population supplies. Immigration from Europe was incompatible with their system, and, indeed, implied a virtual abandonment of it. So thoroughly was this felt, that subsequently, in the Confederate Congress, stringent propositions were offered against the naturalization of foreigners. There remained, therefore, but one resource, the African trade, and it was clear that the Democracy of the North could never consent to that.

Illogical position into which the Democratic party had fallen. The Democratic party had long been controlled by very skillful chiefs; but parties, to be durable, must carry out with logical fidelity the principles on which they are founded. The equality of man and the dignity of labor were suitable partisan cries in the streets of New York, but not in the plantations of South Carolina. Political dexterity might for a season dissemble the discordance and hide it from view, but a time must come when that would cease to be possible; and the antagonism between the necessities of the slave party and the principles of its Democratic ally would be irrepressible, and a quarrel between them inevitable. There could be no sentiment of respect when among the more intelligent classes it was felt that the alliance of the Democratic party with the South was founded on treachery to the principles of its own section; nor could there be any hope of long-continued advantages to be derived from a combination which was necessarily ephemeral; for when the dogmas of a party have spontaneously become contradictory, the end of that party is at hand.

In the estimation of foreigners it had become the accomplice of slavery.

Observant foreigners remarked that the Democracy of the North had become the mere accomplice of slavery, and that its con-

science was seared and hardened. The price it paid to slavery for the share of power it enjoyed was subserviency.

Pride, rather than policy, led the Slave States to consent to the abandonment of the Missouri Compromise. It suited their views of their own dignity to stand on terms of apparent equality with their antagonist; but scarcely had they made a trial of the working of the new plan when they detected how fatal the result would be. In spite of all they could do, the free settlers of Kansas had carried the day. It was plain that the principle of popular sovereignty — squatter sovereignty, as they contemptuously called it—the right of the actual settlers in a Territory to shape its political condition, and make it free or slave as they chose, though very acceptable to the Irish voter in New England, was very unsuitable to the master of a hundred African slaves. This letting the first immigrants settle the fate of a Territory was regarded as a conciliation to the Abolitionists—a bid for their vote.

Accordingly, it became apparent that popular or squatter sovereignty must be abolished in the Territories, even at the cost of a rupture with the Democracy of the North. If not openly abolished, its practical effect must be neutralized.

To carry out this intention, Jefferson Davis—a name soon destined to celebrity—offered in the United States Senate (1860) a series of resolutions, which were adopted. They were to the effect that the states had adopted the Constitution as independent sovereigns, delegating to the general government a portion of their power for the sake of security; that the intermeddling on the part of any one of them with the domestic institutions of another is not

Impolitic action of the South in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

It could not possibly accept the doctrine of popular sovereignty.

Protective pro-slavery resolutions introduced by Jefferson Davis in the Senate.

only insulting, but dangerous to domestic peace, and tending to destroy the Union; that negro slavery is a legal and important element in the apportionment of power among the states, and that no attack upon it can be justified; that the Senate, which represents the states in their sovereign capacity, ought to resist all attempts to give advantages to the citizens of one state which are not enjoyed by those of another in the settlement of the Territories; that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislatures have the right to prevent the introduction of slaves into the Territories, but, on the contrary, it is their duty to protect the holding and enjoying of that property; that when a Territory is ready to be formed into a state, the citizens establishing its Constitution may then for the first time determine whether it shall be slave or free; that the Fugitive Slave Laws shall be faithfully carried into effect by all who enjoy the benefits of the Union, and that all acts tending to defeat or nullify them are subversive of the Constitution and revolutionary in their effect.

In the spring of 1860 the two great national parties, the Democratic and Republican, prepared to declare their policy in the coming election, and to nominate their candidates for the Presidency.

The Convention of the Democratic party accordingly met at Charleston (April 23d). Scarcely had it opened its session before it was apparent that there was a conspiracy in the Slave States for the destruction of the party and for secession from the Union. Persons, such as Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, who had been open advocates for secession, were found to be the ruling spirits. They had determined to insist on impossible guarantees for the existence of slavery, and to put it into the position of a permanent

Convention of the
Democratic party
at Charleston.

The secessionists determined to break up that party. national institution. Their intention was to prevent the nomination of Mr. Douglas, and to compel the party to assume an active pro-slavery policy, or, failing that, to destroy the party by dexterously taking advantage of its delicate and critical condition, and forcing its Northern and Southern ideas into conflict.

Three reports are introduced into the Convention. A Committee on Resolutions having been appointed, the Convention received from it three reports. 1st. A majority report, which, among other things, asserted that Congress had no power to abolish slavery in the Territories; that a Territorial Legislature has no power to abolish slavery in its Territory, nor to prohibit the introduction of slaves therein, nor any power to destroy or impair the right of property in slaves by any legislation whatever. This report, therefore, represented the views of the pro-slavery party.

2d. A minority report, affirming the doctrine of popular sovereignty as adopted by the Democratic Convention of 1856 on the occasion of the nomination of Mr. Buchanan, the present President, but adding thereto a declaration to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on questions of constitutional law, and that the enactments of state Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect. To these were added certain matters of less pressing interest, such as a recommendation to construct the Pacific Railroad and acquire the island of Cuba.

3d. A resolution, proposed by Mr. B. F. Butler, of Massachusetts, that the doctrine of popular sovereignty, as adopted by the Democratic Convention of 1856, be reasserted without change or addition.

Mr. Avery, of North Carolina, on introducing the first,

I.—I 1

or majority report, to the Convention, stated that it was the common sentiment of the South that the doctrine of popular sovereignty was as dangerous as the principle of Congressional intervention or prohibition; that it was utterly impossible for the South to contend with the North for the possession of the Territories on that principle; for, while the latter could send a voter into the disputed region for \$200, it would cost the former more than \$1500. And as to the proposition of the minority to leave the matter to the decision of the Supreme Court in contested cases, that really amounted to nothing, for it was what every law-abiding citizen was already prepared to do.

Protest against popular sovereignty.

On taking the vote, Mr. Butler's resolution was rejected. The minority report, as finally presented to the Convention, was adopted.

Hereupon the delegation from Alabama, as had been previously arranged among the advocates of secession, declared that they were instructed by their state not to submit to the popular sovereignty or squatter doctrine, and that, should it be adopted, as had now been the case, they must withdraw from the Convention. Accordingly they did so, and were followed by the delegates from other Slave States. The Democratic party was thus split asunder, and the first actual movement in secession accomplished; in the height of the tumultuous scene, some of the retiring members exclaiming that in sixty days the whole South would be with them. These asseverations of the unanimity of the South accomplished their own verification. Whoever had still an attachment to the Union was compelled to be mute. The leaders of the movement twirled round the spark of secession so vigorously that every one believed it was a complete circle of fire.

That doctrine is adopted, and the Alabama delegation leave the Convention.

The issue is the division of the Democratic party.

One member of the Georgia delegation protested against the action of his colleagues. "I am not in favor of breaking up this government upon an impracticable issue, upon a mere theory. I believe that this doctrine of protection to slavery in the Territories is a mere theory, a mere abstraction. Practically it can be of no consequence to the South, for the reason that the infant has been strangled before it was born. You have cut off the supply of slaves, you have crippled the institution in the states by your unjust laws, and it is mere folly and madness now to ask protection for a nonentity, for a thing which is not there. *We have no slaves to carry to those Territories.* We can never make another slave state with our present supply of slaves. And if we could, it would not be wise, for the reason that if you make another slave state from your new Territories with the present supply of slaves, you will be obliged to give up another state — either Maryland, Delaware, or Virginia — to free soil upon the North. Now I would deal with this question, fellow-Democrats, as a practical one. When I can see no possible practical good to result to the country from demanding legislation upon this theory, I am not prepared to disintegrate and dismember the great Democratic party of this Union. I would ask my friends of the South to come up in a proper spirit; ask our Northern friends to give us all our rights, and take off the ruthless restrictions which cut off the supply of slaves from foreign lands. As a matter of right and justice to the South, I would ask the Democracy of the North to grant us this thing, and I believe they have the patriotism and honesty to do it, because it is right in itself. I tell you, fellow-Democrats, that the African slave-trader is the true Union man; I tell you that the slave-trader

A delegate from Georgia urges that the Democratic party shall agree to the reopening of the slave-trade,

On the ground that it is absolutely necessary to the territorial expansion of the South,

of Virginia is more immoral, more unchristian in every possible point of view, than that African slave-trader who goes to Africa and brings a heathen and worthless

And gives to Africa the blessings of Christianity.

man here, making him a useful man, christianizing him, and sending him and his posterity down the stream of time to enjoy the blessings of civilization. Now, fellow-Democrats, so far as any public expression of the State of Virginia—the great slave-trading State of Virginia—has been given, they are all opposed to the African slave-trade. We are told, upon high authority, that there is a certain class of men who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Virginia, which authorizes the buying of Christian men, separating them from their wives and children, from all the relations and associations amid which they have lived for years, rolls up her eyes in holy horror when I would go to Africa, buy a savage, and introduce him to the blessings of civilization and Christianity. The slave-trade in Virginia forms a mighty and powerful reason for its opposition to the African slave-trade, and in this remark I do not intend any disrespect to my friends from Virginia. Virginia, the mother of states and of statesmen, the mother of Presidents, I apprehend may err as well as other mortals. I am afraid that her

That Virginia, from motives of interest, will oppose it.

error in this regard lies in the promptings of the almighty dollar. It has been my fortune to go into that noble old state to buy a few darkies, and I have had to pay from \$1000 to \$2000 a head, when I could go to Africa and buy better negroes at \$50 a piece. Unquestionably it is to the interest of Virginia to break down the African slave-trade when she can sell her negroes at \$2000. She knows that the African slave-trade would break up her monopoly, and hence her objection to it. If any of you Northern Democrats—for I have more faith in you than I have in the carpet-knight

Democracy of the South—will go home with me to my plantation in Georgia, but a little way from here, I will show you some darkies that I bought in Maryland, some that I bought in Virginia, some in Delaware, some in Florida, some in North Carolina, and I will also show you the pure African, the noblest Roman of them all. (Great laughter.) Now, fellow-Democrats, my feeble health and failing voice admonish me to bring the few remarks I have to make to a close. I am only sorry that I am not in a better condition than I am to vindicate before you to-day the words of truth, of honesty, and of right, and to show you the gross inconsistencies of the South in this regard. I come from the First Congressional District of the State of Georgia. I represent the African slave-trade interest of that section. (Applause.)

That the African
slave-trader is the
true Christian
missionary.

I am proud of the position I occupy in that respect. I believe that the African slave-trader is a true missionary and a true Christian (applause), and I have pleaded with my delegation from Georgia to put this issue squarely to the Northern Democracy, and say to them, Are you prepared to go back to first principles, and take off your unconstitutional restrictions, and leave this question to be settled by each state? Now do this, fellow-citizens, and you will have

That its tendency
is to sustain the
Union,

peace in the country. But, so long as your federal Legislature takes jurisdiction of this question, so long there will be war, so long there will be ill blood, so long there will be strife, until this glorious Union of ours shall be disrupted, and go out in blood and night forever. I advocate the repeal of the laws prohibiting the African slave-trade because I believe it to be the true Union movement.

And that the trade
is essentially neces-
sary to the balance
of power in the re-
public.

I do not believe that sections whose interests are so different as the Southern and Northern States can ever stand the shocks of fa-

naticism unless they be equally balanced. I believe that by reopening this trade, and giving us negroes to populate the Territories, the equilibrium of the two sections will be maintained."

That portion of the Convention which remained attempted now to vote for a candidate for the Presidency; but finding, after more than fifty ballots, that the necessary number for nomination could not be obtained, adjourned to meet at Baltimore the following June.

The Convention adjourn to Baltimore,

The seceding party, on their side, met in St. Andrew's Hall and organized themselves. They adopted the majority report, but made no nomination for President. Their intention was so to paralyze the Democratic party as to insure the election of the Republican candidate, and thereby unite and arouse the South. They adjourned to meet in June at Richmond.

And the seceders to Richmond.

At the time appointed the meeting at Baltimore took place. A withdrawal of part of the delegations again occurred. This was followed by the retirement of the presiding officer of the Convention itself, and a majority of the Massachusetts delegation. Mr. B. F. Butler, speaking in behalf of the latter, said: "We put our withdrawal upon the simple ground, among others, that there has been a withdrawal in part of a majority of the states; and, further (and that, perhaps, more personal to myself), upon the ground that I will not sit in a Convention where the African slave-trade—which is piracy by the laws of my country—is approvingly advocated."

At the Baltimore meeting a secession again takes place,

And General Benjamin F. Butler retires on the ground that the slave-trade is approvingly advocated.

Nevertheless the balloting proceeded, and eventually Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was nominated as the Democratic candidate for President, and Mr. Benjamin Fitzpatrick for Vice-

The Democratic Convention nominates Mr. Douglas for President.

President; but he declining, the nomination was given to Mr. Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia.

The members who had recently seceded, inviting the seceders at Richmond to join them, now nominated Mr. John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for President, and Mr. Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice-President.

The seceders nominate Mr. Breckinridge.

The two divisions of the Democratic party, thus skillfully split asunder, were therefore represented by Mr. Douglas and Mr. Breckinridge respectively.

An organization, calling itself the National Constitutional Union party, met likewise at Baltimore. It declared its principles to be the Constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws. It nominated Mr. John Bell, of Tennessee, as President, and Mr. Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, as Vice-President.

The National Constitutional Union party nominates Mr. Bell.

The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, Illinois. Its organization being completed, a committee reported a platform, which was unanimously adopted.

The Republican Convention meets at Chicago.

This report set forth the propriety of the organization of the Republican party; the necessity of maintaining the principle promulgated in the Declaration of Independence of the equality of men. It declared that the federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and their union, must be preserved; that to the union of the states the nation owes its prosperity; that the Republican party holds in abhorrence all schemes for disunion. It asserted the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions, and denounced the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or Territory as among the gravest of crimes. It held up to reprobation the existing Democratic administration for its measureless subserviency to slavery; for its at-

Platform of the Republican party.

tempt to force upon the protesting people of Kansas the Lecompton Constitution; for construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons. It denounced the reckless financial extravagance of the government. It affirmed that the new dogma, that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into the Territories, is a dangerous political heresy; that the normal condition of all the territory is that of freedom. It denied the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States. It branded the recent reopening of the African slave-trade, under the cover of the national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to the country and age. It called upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic. It pointed out the deception and fraud of the Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, as illustrated by the recent vetoes, by their federal governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska prohibiting slavery. It required that Kansas should forthwith be admitted as a state. It affirmed that, while providing revenue for the support of the government by duties upon imports, sound policy required such an adjustment of those imposts as to encourage the development of home industry. It demanded the passage of the Homestead law. It protested against any change in the naturalization laws, by which the rights of immigrants might be impaired. It called for appropriations for river and harbor improvements, and for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific.

The Convention then proceeded to ballot, and eventually Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, received the nomination as President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, as Vice-President.

It nominates Mr.
Lincoln.

The position of the four candidates on the Slave Question.

In the election that ensued in November, every thing turned upon the Slavery Question. Mr. Lincoln denied the right of slavery to intrude itself into the Territories; and declared that, if it did, Congress had the power, and it was its duty to prohibit it. Mr. Douglas affirmed that in the exercise of their prerogative of popular sovereignty, the people of a Territory might establish or exclude it. Mr. Breckinridge, that the slaveholder had a right to carry his slaves into a Territory, and that it is the duty of Congress to protect him in so doing, even though the Territorial Legislature should have prohibited slavery. Mr. Bell simply proclaimed the national Constitution as a sufficient guide.

The Republican party, under its leader, Mr. Lincoln, presented an unbroken front. Its principles were unmistakably and clearly defined; though intensely anti-slavery, its platform contained no threat against slavery.

The Democratic party, under Mr. Douglas and Mr. Breckinridge, was divided. Its ultra-slavery section upheld the latter, its moderate section the former. The root of the whole trouble, in Mr. Buchanan's opinion, was in the refusal of the Douglasites to recognize the constitutional rights of slavery in the Territories, established by the Supreme Court; the South regarded that as a degradation. More truly, however, this division was the necessary, the inevitable issue of the illogical and self-contradictory position the party occupied—of its attempt simultaneously to assert the equal rights of man in the North, and social caste divisions in the South.

The Presidential election of 1860.

On November 6th, 1860, the election took place; the votes were,

Mr. Lincoln, in the Free States	. . 1,840,022	} Total, 1,866,452.
“ “ Slave “	. . 26,430	
Mr. Douglas, in the Free States	. . 1,211,632	} “ 1,375,157.
“ “ Slave “	. . 163,525	

Mr. Breckinridge, in the Free States	277,082	} Total, 847,953.
“ “ Slave “	570,871	
Mr. Bell, in the Free States . . .	74,658	} “ 590,631.
“ “ Slave “ . . .	515,973	

Such was the state of the popular vote. The position of the candidates, the electoral vote being considered, was,

Mr. Lincoln	180
Mr. Breckinridge	72
Mr. Bell	39
Mr. Douglas	12
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Mr. Lincoln President of the United States.

When the electoral college met in the ensuing month, Mr. Lincoln was therefore chosen President of the United States.

Biography of Abraham Lincoln.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was born of poor and illiterate parents, in Hardin County, Kentucky. His father could neither read nor write. When the future President was only eight years old the family removed to Indiana, floating down the Ohio on a raft. They built their humble log cabin in Spencer County.

At the age of nineteen, having acquired the rudiments of a scanty education—reading, writing, ciphering—he hired himself as a flat-boatman on the Mississippi, receiving as wages ten dollars a month. His father removing to Illinois two years subsequently, he drove the cattle on the journey, and then split rails to fence in the new farm. Soon afterward he commenced shop-keeping in a small way, and added to his acquirements the art of land surveying. At twenty-five he was elected a member of the Legislature of Illinois. He had now begun studying law, and in due time was admitted to the bar. Subsequently he was sent to the national Congress, in which he uniformly and consistently vindicated the rights of freedom against slavery.

Through years of unparalleled political difficulty—

through the horrors of an awful civil war, this man was the Chief of the Republic. He was found to be of spotless integrity, and equal to his task. He emancipated four millions of human beings from slavery, and gave to his country peace.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SECESSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

South Carolina assumed the position of leadership in the Secession movement.

She did not wait for co-operation, but passed an Ordinance of Secession, and organized herself as an independent or sovereign Power.

The Message of President Buchanan to Congress was received with general dissatisfaction. He was of opinion that the government has no authority to prevent Secession.

All attempts at compromise failed, and the Southern members withdrew from Congress.

THE white population of South Carolina in 1860 was about three hundred thousand (301,271).
The population of South Carolina. The total white population of the Slave States was about eight millions and a quarter (8,289,953). Considered with respect to her population, South Carolina was, with the exception of Delaware, the smallest of the Slave States.

In the North, where numerical majorities determine public policy, South Carolina was regarded with a sentiment of disdain. There were single towns of which the population outnumbered hers. It seemed preposterous that she should undertake to control the action of her confederates, whose aggregate numbers exceeded hers almost thirty fold.

But, however numerical estimates might be applied in the North, they were altogether out of place in this instance. The political power of South Carolina lay not in her numbers, but in her intelligence.
Cause of her political influence.

Her black population exceeded her white; in that respect she stood at the head of the Southern States. This preponderance of slaves implied wealthy slaveown-

Social sentiment in that state.

ers. Aristocratic ideas prevailed among her influential planters, due partly to a recollection of the distinguished circumstances under which, as a colony, the state had been originally settled, and partly to the elegant luxury and refinement in which they lived. The brusque individualism of the recent rich man of the North was here replaced by the lofty dignity of family pride. Familiar, through repeated visits to the capitals of Europe, with all the amenities of modern civilized life, and surrounding himself with whatever can minister to the gratification of a refined taste, the South Carolinian repaid that sentiment of disdain with which his state was regarded at the North with a sentiment of contempt. Especially since the days of Nullification, in which he persuaded himself that he had brought Congress to terms, had he indulged in an imperious temper. A new generation had arisen, educated to hate the Union.

Mr. Calhoun's views on the basis of her distinction.

No one saw more clearly the true position of South Carolina than Mr. Calhoun. In his speech on the Force Bill, 1833 (Crallé, ii., p. 199), he says: "We have been sneeringly told that she is a small state; that her population does not exceed half a million of souls, and that more than one half are not of the European race. The facts are so. I know she can never be a great state, and the only distinction to which she can aspire must be based on the moral and intellectual acquisitions of her sons."

Relative position of Massachusetts and South Carolina, and of Virginia and South Carolina.

Massachusetts was the brain of the Free States; South Carolina the brain of the Slave States. In the more recent and more highly-developed life of the republic, the latter had come into the position held by Virginia in earlier times. These states, Virginia and South Carolina, occupied in the polity of the South a relative position not unlike that of England and France in the European system: South

Carolina impulsive, impetuous, brilliant, in the van of new movements, conscious of her intellectual strength; Virginia colder, more impassive, looking more to the consequences of events, reluctant to change.

As is too often the case with those who thus are conscious of intellectual strength, she overestimated her physical power, and hid from herself the fact that it is upon that alone that imperial dominion depends. The voice of the insignificant minority—Co-operationists, as they were termed—who desired to wait until other states were joined with her in a combined revolutionary movement; was lost in the loud demands of the instant Disunionists.

South Carolina disdains to wait for the co-operation of other states.

The Legislature of South Carolina met November 5th, 1860, for the purpose of appointing presidential electors.

Message of the governor to the Legislature.

The governor, in his message to that body, suggested that it should remain in session for the purpose of taking such action as would prepare the state for any emergency that might arise. He explained the considerations that had led him to this step—"a view of the threatening aspect of affairs, and the strong probability of the election to the presidency of a sectional candidate by a party committed to the support of measures which would ultimately reduce the Southern States to mere provinces of a consolidated despotism, to be governed by a fixed majority in Congress, hostile to their institutions, and fatally bent on their ruin."

He recommends the calling of a Convention.

He recommended that, in the event of Mr. Lincoln's election, a Convention of the people of the state should be called, and expressed his opinion that the only alternative left was the secession of South Carolina from the federal Union. The long-desired co-operation of the other states, having similar institutions, seemed to him to be near at hand. If, he continued, "in the exercise of arbitrary

power, and forgetful of the lessons of history, the government of the United States should attempt coercion, it will become our solemn duty to meet force by force." He therefore recommended the reorganization of the militia, and the acceptance of volunteers.

Under these circumstances, the Legislature passed a bill calling a Convention to meet on December 17th. Not but that attempts were made to restrain this impetuosity by the Co-operationists. One would put off decisive action until at least another state had given evidence that she would join in the movement; another would send a commission to Georgia to secure her concurrence. Still another insisted that, as this had been the policy of the state for ten years, it ought not to be suddenly abandoned. For more than that length of time it had been her settled determination that she would secede; the only question had been as to time and method—when and how. "The Southern States are one in soil and climate, one in productions, having a monopoly of the cotton region; one in institutions, and, more than all, one in their wrongs under the Constitution. Add to this that they alone have African slavery, which is absolutely necessary for them, without which they would cease to exist, and against which, under the influence of a fanatical sentiment, the world is banded. In this respect we are isolated from the whole world, and it would seem that the very weight of that outside pressure would compel us to unite." "South Carolina has sometimes been accused of a paramount desire to lead or to disturb the councils of the South. Let us make one last effort for co-operation, and in so doing repel that false and unfounded imputation."

To this it was replied that South Carolina had tried co-operation, and had exhausted that policy. Virginia had declined to take the leadership. If we wait for co-

Attempt of a minority to restrain hasty action.

But the majority is determined to secede.

operation, slavery and state-rights will be abandoned. When we have pledged ourselves to take the state out of the Union, it will be time enough to send a commission to Georgia, or any other Southern state, and submit the question whether they will join or not. We have it from high authority that the representative of one of the imperial powers of Europe, in view of this prospective separation from the Union, has made propositions in advance for the establishment of such relations between it and the government about to be established in this state as will insure to that power such a supply of cotton for the future as an increasing demand for that article will require."

Inducements to that step on the part of foreign powers.

In fact, South Carolina was not acting precipitately, nor was it necessary for her to have the demanded delay for co-operation. Co-operation had been long ago secured. Not only had the leaders of the secession movement come to a previous understanding with each other, but, as the foregoing extract shows, they had tampered with foreign powers. It had been settled that the initiative should be taken by South Carolina, and that the other Slave States would sustain her.

As a matter of policy, it was better that South Carolina should thus take the initiative. The government could not get at her except through the Border States, who, apparently acting on the defensive, might resist the passage of troops. No matter what might be their desire, if once the Cotton States seceded, they would be compelled to follow the example. They would be too weak to remain in the Union.

Reasons that South Carolina should take the initiative.

It was the general impression at this time in the South that secession could be accomplished with impunity. The Northern newspapers, in too many instances, were continually goad-

It was expected that secession could be consummated without war.

ing the discontented communities to that fatal step. The President did not believe that coercion could be legally resorted to. Congress was indisposed to act. Influential politicians of the Democratic party in the North were profuse in their proffers of support. They had no clear appreciation of what the consequences would be, for they looked upon the whole thing as a mere electioneering movement. Even Lieutenant General Scott, the general-in-chief of the American army, had not yet risen to a correct estimate of the policy that must be adopted, and in his "Views" contemplated without indignation the possibility of dividing the republic into four separate confederacies.

At the time of Mr. Lincoln's election a system of terrorism had been thoroughly established in the South. Gross misrepresentations were spread abroad in every direction, and that not only by the politicians and newspapers, but also by the pulpit. By these means the poor whites were roused to a pitch of madness, and were lured by the beguilement of secession, that the African trade would be forthwith re-established, and every one could have as many slaves as he pleased. One of them, writing subsequently, says: "Never were a people more bewitched, beguiled, and befooled than we were when we drifted into secession." Very soon such a public opinion was created that it became impossible to resist. Whoever in his heart entertained Union sentiments must hold his peace; if he remonstrated, it was at the peril of his life. Never, except in the darkest moment of the French Revolution, had such a state of things been witnessed. Meetings were held among the chief secessionists; at one which had taken place at the house of Mr. Hammond (October 25th, 1860), it is said that the details of the movement were agreed upon. Telegraphic

A system of terrorism was established through the South.

Compulsory unanimity obtained.

dispatches were flying in all directions, and Mr. Yancey's wish was at last gratified—the Southern heart was fired.

On December 17th, 1860, the South Carolina Convention met at Columbia, in that state. On account of the prevalence of small-pox it adjourned to Charleston. Immediately upon its organization, on motion of Mr. Inglis, it was "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Convention that the State of South Carolina should forthwith secede from the Federal Union known as the United States of America."

Meeting of the
South Carolina
Convention.

In pressing his resolution to a decision, Mr. Inglis remarked that delay for the purpose of discussion was scarcely needed, since the matter had been under discussion for many years. Mr. Parker said it had been culminating for thirty years; Mr. Keitt, that he had been engaged in this movement ever since he entered on political life; Mr. Rhett, that the secession of South Carolina was not the affair of a day—it was neither produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, nor by the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law—it had been gathering head for thirty years.

The following ordinance was unanimously passed:

"An ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of South Carolina and other states united with her, under the compact entitled 'the Constitution of the United States of America.'"

Ordinance of Se-
cession passed.

"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this state, ratifying the amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the union now subsisting be-

tween South Carolina and other states, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

The fatal step thus taken was welcomed in the streets by the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and every other demonstration of joy. "The state had now become a free and independent nation." In their intoxication of enthusiasm, the upper classes forgot that in great political convulsions it is always the aristocracy who suffer most. The unthinking multitude did not pause to reflect on the awful responsibility of their act, and that they must make good their ordinance against a great power which could enforce its behests with armies of a million of men.

A procession of gentlemen repaired to St. Philip's Church-yard, and, encircling the tomb of Calhoun, made solemn obeisance before it, vowing to devote "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to Carolinian independence. The side-walks were crowded with ladies wearing secession bonnets made of black and white Georgia cotton, decorated with ornaments of Palmetto-trees and lone stars. In the frenzy of enthusiastic patriotism they surpassed the men. They had put forth their hand and gathered the long-forbidden fruit, but it was like the fabled apple of Isthakar, of which he who tasted must eat the whole, and, though it was sweet as honey on one side, it was more bitter than the quintessence of gall on

Ceremony of signing the Ordinance of Secession.

the other. At the ceremony of signing the ordinance—a ceremony declared to be profoundly grand and impressive—a venerable clergyman, whose hair was as white as snow, implored the favoring auspices of heaven. It was affirmed that the work of thirty years was accomplished at last. Not yet. In less than three years after these events, the terror-stricken city, blackened with fire and in ruins, received an answer of doom to her prayers from the

mouth of the Swamp Angel, in the batteries on Morris Island.

The state having thus “resumed her position among the nations of the earth,” her governor, Mr. Pickens, was authorized to receive ambassadors, ministers, consuls, etc., from abroad, and to appoint similar officers to represent her in foreign countries. As is the custom with sovereign personages, he organized a cabinet, Mr. Magrath being the Secretary of State, Mr. Jamison Secretary of War, Mr. Memminger Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Hardee Postmaster General, Mr. Garlington Secretary of the Interior. The chains of the old Union could not, however, be abruptly and entirely snapped ; the gold and silver coinage still remained a legal tender, and, through the force of necessity, the agents of the post-office and of other services were retained. It was needful to do this in order for “the machinery to move on.” With provident care for the future—though, seen by us in the retrospect, it extorts a melancholy smile—a loan of four hundred thousand dollars for the public defense was authorized ; it was immediately taken by the banks of the state, and they were permitted to suspend specie payments. Commissioners were appointed to proceed to Washington to arrange for the surrender of the forts and other national property. An address to the people of the other slaveholding states was issued : it invited them to join in “a great slaveholding Confederacy.” “We must be the most independent, as we are the most important of the nations of the world.” A banner of red silk was adopted. It bore a blue cross, on which were set fifteen stars : one of them, central and larger than the rest, represented South Carolina. On the red field was a palmetto and a crescent. In a moment devoted to patriotism and glory, no one looked forward to a future of

Organization of the state as a sovereign power.

Financial preparations, and embassy to the American government.

sorrow and gloom. Polkas and the Marseillaise Hymn were played in the streets. The newly-lighted lamp of secession was burning brightly, and many a gaudy moth was fluttering round it. The Charleston newspapers published intelligence from other parts of the United States under the title of "Foreign News."

Foreign news from other states of the Union.

When these proceedings were made known in the cold and calculating North, they excited unutterable amazement—amazement that passed into alarm when Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, in a few days followed the example. The Border States, foreseeing inevitable war, and that the shock of the conflict would fall upon them, temporized. After all that had been done to pledge them to the movement, Virginia, North Carolina, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, though a reign of terror, political and social, was inaugurated in them, either took the fatal step with deep reluctance, or avoided taking it at all.

Astonishment of the North at these proceedings.

The sentiment of the Border States was displayed in an address by the governor of one of them—Kentucky—to his people. He declares: "To South Carolina, and such other states as may wish to secede from the Union, I would say, The geography of this country will not admit of a division; the mouth and the sources of the Mississippi can not be separated without the horrors of a civil war. We can not sustain you in this movement merely on account of the election of Mr. Lincoln. Do not precipitate us by premature action into a revolution or civil war, the consequences of which will be most frightful to all of us. It may yet be avoided. There is still hope, faint though it be. Kentucky is a Border State, and has suffered more than all of you. She claims, standing upon the same sound platform, your

Protest of the Governor of Kentucky.

sympathies with her, and expects you to stand by her, and not desert her in her exposed perilous border position. She has a right to claim that her voice, and the voice of reason, and moderation, and patriotism, shall be heard and heeded by you. We implore you to stand by us, and by our friends in the Free States; and let us all, the bold, the true, and just men in the Free and in the Slave States, with a united front, stand by each other, by our principles, by our rights, our equality, our honor, and by the Union under the Constitution."

The morning of December 3d, 1860, when Congress assembled, was serene and beautiful, as are so frequently the last autumnal days of Atlantic America. President Buchanan, in his annual message, drew attention at once to the serious condition of the country. He imputed the threatened destruction of the Union to the long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States, affirming that the impending danger proceeded neither from the attempts to exclude slavery from the Territories, nor from the practical nullification of the Fugitive Slave Law, but from a certain malign influence that had been produced on the slaves through abolition agitations, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence, in the South, a sense of security no longer existed round the family altar; it had been displaced by a dread of servile insurrection. He declared that many a matron retired at night in dread of what might befall herself and her children before the morning. Should this apprehension pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion would become inevitable, since self-preservation is the first law of Nature. He stated that it was his conviction that the fatal period had not yet arrived, and that his

The meeting of
Congress.

President Buchanan's
annual message.

prayer to God was that he would preserve the Constitution and the Union throughout all generations. Among the acts of offense committed by the North, the President pointed out that, in 1835, pictorial hand-bills and inflammatory appeals had been extensively circulated through the South, of a character to excite the passions of the slaves; that the agitation had been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of state and county Conventions, and by abolition sermons and lectures; that, in fact, it was the easiest thing for the American people to settle the Slavery Question forever, and restore peace and harmony to the country. All that was necessary to accomplish that object, and all for which the Slave States had ever contended, was—to be let alone. He stated that the election of Mr. Lincoln was not a just cause for the dissolution of the Union; but that, should the Free States not repeal the acts passed by several of them, to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, the injured states would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the government of the Union; and that, if any state should secede from the Union, the government had no power to prevent it. He said that the question, fairly stated, is this: Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce into submission a state which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn from the confederacy? If answered in the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the power has been conferred on Congress to declare and to make war against a state. He stated that, after much serious reflection, he had arrived at the conclusion that no such power had been delegated to Congress, or to any other department of the federal government. Congress possesses many means of preserving the Union by conciliation, but the sword was not placed in its hand to preserve the Union by force. However, as a final settlement of the dispute,

the President proposed an amendment of the Constitution for the purpose of insuring an express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the states where it now exists, or may hereafter exist; the protection of this right in all the Territories until they are admitted as states in the Union; a thorough recognition of the right of the master to his fugitive slave, and a declaration that all state laws impairing or defeating this right are violations of the Constitution, and are consequently null and void.

This irresolute paper showed that the political paralysis which had so long threatened the Democratic party had reached the executive centre. Its unsatisfactory character. An illogical attempt to maintain a self-contradictory doctrine—human equality in the North, and human slavery in the South, had broken down. Opposing men of both parties in Congress agreed completely on one point, and that was the imbecility of the message. Mr. Wigfall declared, doubtless with truth, that he could not comprehend it. Mr. Jefferson Davis could not find its conclusion. Mr. Hale thought it probably proved that the power of the country consisted in the power of doing nothing at all. Political writers of every shade of opinion condemned it as a whole, and derided it in its details. In the South they said what it tells us about the alarms of our women “is a gross and silly libel, which could only have proceeded from a nerveless, apprehensive, tremulous old man; our women and our clergy are the leaders of secession.” They denied that “Abolition twaddle” had any thing to do with the dispute; it originated in the determination of a proud and aristocratic people “to have no more to do with the boors of the North.”

In the discussions which ensued on the President's Message, it was clear that the quarrel could no longer be compromised. Proceedings in Congress on the message. The Senate, as well as the House, was the scene of reproach-

es and defiance. In the former, Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, declared that the South would not submit to the authority of the government. In vain did the venerable Mr. Crittenden rebuke such treasonable sentiments, and beg that no one would follow such a bad example; in vain he recalled the blessings that had been derived from the Union. He was answered by quoting the scornful remark of Mr. Calhoun, that the Union could not be saved by making eulogies upon it. In language contrasting strongly with the President's temporizing message,

Speech of Mr. Hale,
of New Hampshire,

Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, said: "The plain, true way is to look this thing in the face, to see where we are. If it is preannounced and predetermined that the voice of the majority, expressed through the regular and constitutional forms, will not be submitted to, then, sir, this is not a union of equals; it is a union of a dictatorial oligarchy on one side, and a herd of slaves and cowards on the other. That is it, sir; nothing more, nothing less." On the other hand, Senator Iverson, of Georgia, anticipating such atrocities as that which ended the life of Mr. Lincoln, said, in reference to the reluctance of the Governor of Texas to call her Legis-

And of Mr. Iverson,
of Georgia.

lature together, "If he does not yield to public sentiment, some Texan Brutus will arise to rid his country of the hoary-headed incubus that stands between the people and their sovereign will." It was this very governor, General Houston, as we have seen in Chapter XXII., who had been the main instrument in tearing Texas from Mexico. One of the senators of that state, Mr. Wigfall, declared that secession was determined on by his people, and that he did not feel called upon to give any reason for that sovereign act; it was enough that a distasteful man had been elected to the Presidency. "We choose to consider that a sufficient ground for leaving the Union."

When, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Boteler, of Virginia, proposed to refer so much of the President's Message as related to the perilous condition of the country to a committee of thirty-three—one from each state—not less than fifty-two members from the Slave States refused to vote. "I pay no attention to any action taken in this body," said one. "I am not sent here to patch up difficulties," said another. The Democratic members from the Free States did their utmost to compose the dissension—some of them who subsequently be-

Concessions proposed in the House of Representatives.

came conspicuous in the war—suggesting concessions, which doubtless they looked back upon with regret. It was proposed that persons of African blood should never be considered as citizens of the United States; that there should never be any interference with slavery in the Territories, nor with the interstate slave-trade; that the doctrine of state-rights should be admitted, and power of coercion denied to the government. Among the dissatisfied members, one would allow any state at pleasure to secede, and allot it a fair share of the public property and territory. Another would divide the Union into four republics; another would abolish the office of President, and have in its stead a council of three, each of whom should have a veto on every public act. Propositions such as these show to what length the allies of the slave power would have gone to preserve it and give it perpetuity.

At this stage, Mr. Crittenden proposed in the Senate certain amendments of the Constitution, and resolutions known subsequently as the Crittenden Compromise. The essential features of his plan were the re-establishing of the Missouri Compromise: that in all territory of the United States north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ slavery should be prohibited; in all south of that line, not only permitted, but protected; that from such terri-

Mr. Crittenden's
Compromise.

tory north or south states might be admitted with or without slavery, as the Constitution of each might determine; that Congress should have no power to abolish slavery in places under its jurisdiction in a slave state, nor in the District of Columbia, without the consent of the adjoining states, nor without compensation to the slaveholders, nor to prevent persons connected with the government bringing their slaves into the District; that Congress should have no power to hinder the interstate or territorial transport of slaves; that the national government should pay a full value to the owner of a fugitive slave who might have been rescued from the officers; that no amendments of the Constitution should ever be made which might affect these amendments, or other slave compromises already existing in the Constitution. He also recommended to the states that had enacted laws in conflict with the existing fugitive slave acts, their repeal; and in four resolutions made provision for the more perfect execution of those acts.

But the dissension was too deep to be closed by such a measure as Mr. Crittenden's, which contained nothing that could satisfy the North. The South was resolved not to be satisfied with any thing. It had taken what was plainly an irreversible step. Accordingly, Mr. Crittenden's proposition was eventually lost. In the House of Representatives corresponding compromise attempts were made, but without any favorable result. The representatives from South Carolina in that house announced by letter to its

Futility of peace attempts.

Withdrawal of the representatives of South Carolina.

speaker on December 24th their withdrawal in consequence of the secession of their state. Mr. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, constrained by sickness, could not take his leave of the Senate until January 21st, when, in a speech appropriate to the occasion, he declared his devotion to the doctrine of state-

rights to be such that he must follow the destiny of Mississippi, whether she had cause for leaving the Union or not. He protested against the idea of the equality of men, and justified secession.

Withdrawal of Mr. Jefferson Davis from the Senate.

“When you deny to us the right of withdrawing from a government which threatens to be destructive of our rights, we but tread in the path of our fathers when we proclaim our independence and take the hazard.” “I carry with me,” he continued, “no hostile remembrance. Whatever offense I have given which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, senators, at this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which, in the heat of discussion, I may have inflicted. It only remains for me to bid you a final adieu.”

The seceding senators now, one after another, withdrew—Mr. Iverson, of Georgia, taking occasion to remark that, though the government might conquer the South, “we will rise again and again to vindicate our right to liberty, and to throw off your oppressive and cursed yoke. We will never cease the mortal strife until we are extinguished.” Mr. Slidell, of Louisiana, left on February 4th. In his farewell address he threatened that the sea should swarm with privateers, and that the naval powers of Europe should break blockades, and war upon the North with active and inveterate hostility.

Threats of other seceding senators on retiring.

The nation had lived through a day of wonderful prosperity and enviable happiness. It seemed as if the eventide had come at last. The shades of night were fast settling on America.

But let us remember what that stern Puritan, “old John Brown,” when he lay in the Virginia jail wounded, and expecting the executioner, wrote as a consolation to

his wife: "I have never known a night so dark as to hinder the coming day, nor a storm so dreadful as to prevent the return of warm sunshine and a cloudless sky."

Toward the close of 1859 Virginia had been profoundly agitated by the attack of "old John Brown," who seized Harper's Ferry, in the northeast of the state, with the intention of liberating slaves.

John Brown's ancestor, Peter Brown, was one of the Puritans who came over in the "Mayflower." His grandfather died in the Revolutionary army. The quality of his blood, as derived from his mother's side, may be inferred from the circumstance that her family were Gospellers from Holland. Her name was Ruth; her father's, Gideon. He too had served in the Revolutionary army, and had attained the rank of lieutenant. As might be expected from such a lineage, John Brown joined the Congregational Church at sixteen years of age. When a boy, he happened to witness a young negro beaten by his master with an iron shovel, and from that moment he conceived a fanatical hatred against slavery. It was his day-dream that he should become the Moses of the African race. After having followed various pursuits, and made a voyage to England on a wool speculation, which turned out unfortunately, he devoted himself to the supervision of a negro settlement in the Adirondack Mountains. His four elder sons, having migrated to Kansas for the purpose of aiding in making it a free state, were speedily brought into difficulty with the invading slaveholders from Missouri (p. 416); and having sent to their father to forward them some rifles for their defense, he, instead of doing so, carried the weapons himself, in order to make sure that they were properly used. His battles with these slaveholders furnish many romantic stories. Even his antagonists were con-

Biography of John Brown.

strained to admire his fanatical courage, which they could so well appreciate, and to marvel at his fanatical piety, which they could not understand. With his pistol at their heads, the old Puritan compelled the godless prisoners he had spared to kneel down and pray every night and morning while they remained in his camp, in which a searching of the Scriptures was continually going on.

Leaving Kansas, he made an attack, with seventeen whites and five blacks, on the government armory at Harper's Ferry. This was on October 17th, 1859. His object was to liberate slaves, and run them off into the Free States. He also intended to seize slave-masters, and then ransom them for negroes, whom he would free. But he greatly miscalculated the encouragement he would receive and the resistance he would encounter. After a desperate fight, in which most of his companions were killed, among them two of his sons, and himself severely wounded both with the sabre and bayonet, he was overpowered by the Virginia militia and United States troops.

When brought up for trial, his defense was, that he had never intended murder, arson, or other such atrocities, but only slave-freeing; that he was constrained to this by the scriptural command, "Remember those that are in bonds as bound with them," and more particularly by the injunction, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." In the letter to his wife to which reference has just been made, he says: "I believe that for me at this time to seal my testimony for God and humanity with my blood will do vastly more toward advancing the cause I have earnestly endeavored to promote than all I have done in my life before." In another letter to a clergyman, his cousin, he remarks that he is the first of their kindred, since their ancestor Peter Brown landed from the Mayflower,

His attack on Harper's Ferry.

His trial and defense.

who has been sentenced either to imprisonment or the gallows; but he returns "thanks to Almighty God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, for giving me the victory." He walked forth from the jail to execution,

His execution.

as an eye-witness said, with "a radiant countenance and the step of a conqueror." There happened to stand near the door a negro woman with a child in her arms; he paused a moment, kissed the infant reverently, and then went on his way.

"I have seen a very brave man die to-day," was the remark of a by-stander when the execution was over. Had John Brown lived two centuries earlier he would have been one of Cromwell's preaching captains. The South complained (page 453) that the Free States canonized him; in truth, however, it was they themselves who had made him immortal.

After Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of the emancipation of the slaves, "old John Brown" furnished one of the most favorite songs to the American army. The stanzas were without merit. But even the most wretched doggerel becomes sublime when it is the solemn war-chant of marching regiments.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT.

The seceding states assumed the title of "The Confederate States of America;" they adopted a Constitution, and elected Jefferson Davis as President.

Exposition of the principles of the Confederacy and of its Constitution by the Vice-President, Alexander H. Stephens. He set forth its superiority over the Constitution of the United States on such points as the Tariff Question, internal improvements, the rights of cabinet ministers, the tenure of the Presidency, and, above all, in matters relating to slavery.

He announced that the Confederacy rested on the principle of the inequality of men, and that its corner-stone was human slavery.

EARLY in February, 1861, a Convention of six seceding states, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, was held at Montgomery, Alabama. They were represented by forty-two persons. Measures were taken for the formation of a provisional government. After the vote on the provisional Constitution was taken, Jefferson Davis was elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens Vice-President of the Confederacy for the current year. The inauguration of Mr. Davis took place on February 18th. Both were shortly after re-elected permanently for six years.

Soon, however, disappointment was expressed by the South Carolinians at the course events were taking. One of the leading secessionists of that state had desired to be attorney general, another secretary of war, another secretary of the treasury; one, indeed, was spoken of as suitable for the high office of President. Mr. Rhett, who had done so much for the cause, said, in a letter to a relative at home, "Prepare for disappointment; they have not put me forward for office."

Meeting of the Confederate Convention. Election of Jefferson Davis as President of the Confederacy.

Dissatisfaction in South Carolina.

In Dr. Craven's Prison Life of Mr. Davis are indicated the difficulties which already beset the new President. He himself sketches the character of his secretaries. On the formation of the cabinet at Montgomery there were but seven states to select from. Georgia, as the largest state, claimed the secretaryship of state, and recommended Mr. Toombs, who was impracticable and restless. Alabama, as the second, claimed the portfolio of war, nominating Mr. Pope Walker, who had neither experience nor capacity. South Carolina placed Mr. Memminger in the treasury, but he made an utter failure. Louisiana sent Mr. Benjamin, the ablest of them all, but he did not believe the war would last ninety days. Texas sent Mr. Reagan for the postal department, a man of good common sense, but of no administrative ability. Florida sent Mr. Mallory to the navy department; he had had large experience in the Naval Committee of the United States Senate, but he was complained of as remiss.

The permanent Constitution adopted for "The Confederate States of America," the title now assumed, was modeled substantially on that of the United States. It was remarked that, after all, the old Constitution was the most suitable basis for the new Confederacy. Among points of difference must be noticed that the new instrument broadly recognized, even in its preamble, the contested doctrine of state-rights. The President and Vice-President were chosen for six years, and the former rendered incapable of re-election while in office; he could not remove any officials, except members of his cabinet, without reference to the Senate; those officers had the privilege of seats in either house, and a right of discussing measures pertaining to their respective departments. This Constitution also prohibited the giving of bounties from the treasury, and the levying of duties for the purpose of protection; it dis-

allowed the introduction of more than one subject in any act; made the post-office rely on its own revenues, and forbade the enactment of any law denying or impairing the right of property in slaves.

Mr. Davis's views at this time are to be found in speeches he made in his triumphant journey to Montgomery, and in his inaugural address. In one of the former he says: "The Border States will gladly come into the Southern Confederacy within sixty days, as we shall be their only friends. England will recognize us, and a glorious future is before us. The grass will grow in the Northern cities, where the pavements have been worn off by the tread of commerce." Foreshadowing the manner in which he intended to act, he said, "We will carry the war where it is easy to advance—where food for the sword and torch await our armies in the densely-populated cities. The enemy may come and spoil our crops, but we can raise them as before; they can not rear again the cities which took years of industry and millions of money to build." "We are now determined," he said, "to maintain our position, and make all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel." He had no idea of the length and severity of the struggle; he thought it would be over in a few weeks, as may be seen from his conversations subsequently in prison with the Surgeon Craven.

Inducements and threats were applied to draw Virginia and the other Border States into the Confederacy. In the provisional Constitution the first article of the seventh section reads,

"The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slaveholding states of the United States is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same."

But, with an ominous monition, the second article reads,

Mr. Davis's expectations and intentions.

Influences brought to bear on Virginia.

“Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any state not a member of this Confederacy.”

At this time Virginia was receiving an annual income of twelve millions of dollars from the sale of slaves. In 1860 twelve thousand slaves were sent over her railroads to the South and Southwest. One thousand dollars for each was considered a low estimate.

Notwithstanding this, the Ordinance of Secession did not pass the Virginia Convention until some weeks subsequently (April 17).

The Constitution also disposed summarily of the tariff,
The Tariff Question, and old disputed points of the Slave Question.

“No bounties shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations be levied, to promote or foster any branch of industry.

“The citizens of each state shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any state of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property, and the right of property in said slaves shall not thereby be impaired.”

“No slave or other person held to service or labor in
And Fugitive Slave Question. any state or Territory of the Confederate States, under the laws thereof, escaping or lawfully carried into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such slave belongs, or to whom such service or labor may be due.”

“The Confederate States may acquire new territory;
Establishment of slavery in new Territories. in all such territory the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress, and by the Territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several confederate states and Territo-

ries shall have the right to take to such territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the states and Territories of the Confederate States."

Mr. Davis, in his inaugural address, observed that the present condition of the Confederacy illustrates the American idea that government rests upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they were established; that in their action the seceding states had merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence declares to be inalienable; that it was an abuse of language to denominate this a revolution. Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the Confederacy had not proceeded from a disregard on our part of our just obligations, or any failure to perform every constitutional duty; moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others; anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations—if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it; that our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest and that of all those to whom we would sell, or from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation. It is advisable, in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well-instructed, disciplined army, more numerous than would be required in a peace establishment. He considers the probability of their former associates in the Union seeking to rejoin them under the new Confederacy in future years, but, upon the whole, is disposed to regard

Mr. Davis's inaugural address.

it as undesirable. He remarks that, "Actuated solely by a desire to preserve our own rights and to promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check; the cultivation of our fields progresses as heretofore; and, even if we should be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of producer and consumer can only be intercepted by an exterior force, which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets—a course of conduct which would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad."

In this address Mr. Davis makes no allusion to slavery, nor to those great questions that were the main-spring of the movement which he was henceforth to represent. His speech was, in truth, not addressed to the cotton-planters of the Gulf States, in whose presence he was standing, but to the commercial interest in England. It was a bid to free trade in apprehension of the coming blockade.

But, though the Confederate President was so unwilling to allude to the dread power that animated secession, it obtruded itself upon him throughout all his subsequent career, and was the cause of his ruin at last. In this it was like that lemur-phantom of gigantic stature and dusky complexion who, as is related by Plutarch, came into the tent of Brutus in the night before the disastrous battle of Philippi, and, with a countenance of horrible intelligence, whispered to him, "I am thy Evil Genius."

The Vice-President of the Confederacy, Mr. Stephens,

Mr. Stephens's exposition of the new Constitution.

however, was not so silent. In a speech delivered at Savannah, Georgia, he vindicated the new Constitution, remarking that it amply secured all the old rights, franchises, and privileges of the people; that it maintained the principle of religious liberty, the honor and pride of the old Constitution; that it perpetuated all the essentials which have so endeared that Constitution to the hearts of the American people; that it, moreover, presented some great improve-

He considers it an improvement on the old one.

ments, among which he enumerated its forbidding the fostering of one branch of industry to the prejudice of another, thus removing the thorn of the tariff which occasioned so much irritation in the old body politic; that it put at rest all questions relating to internal improvements, and asserted the principle that every locality should bear the burdens necessary for its own advantage; if Charleston Harbor needs improvement, let the commerce of Charleston bear the cost; if the mouth of the Savannah River has to be cleared, let the sea-going navigation benefited by it bear the burden. He also dwelt with satisfaction on the provision that cabinet ministers and heads of departments should have the privilege of seats in Congress, with a right to participate in discussions upon the various subjects of administration—a practice approaching that of the English government, and from which the most signal benefits had been derived. He pointed out the advantages of the lengthening of the presidential term from four to six years, and the incapacitating of the President for re-election.

The Confederate government is founded on the inequality of man.

But, above all, the relations of the new Constitution to slavery met his approval. He asserted that the proper condition of the negro is bondage. He recalled that Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated that slavery was the rock on which

the old Union would split—a conjecture which had now become a realized fact—that the prevalent idea of the revolutionary times that somehow or other in the order of Providence slavery would disappear of itself, was an illusion founded upon the fallacy that the enslavement of Africans is wrong. He declared that a government resting on the principle of the equality of races was built upon a sandy foundation, and it fell as soon as “the storm came and the wind blew.”

In this important respect the new government exhibits its superiority. Slavery is its corner-stone, the condition of bondage its recognized principle. He remarked that it is the first government in the history of the world based upon that great philosophical and moral truth—a truth denied by the fanatics of the North, who in this respect are laboring under a species of insanity. He could not, however, permit himself to doubt of the ultimate recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world.

The Vice-President added, “The negro, by nature and by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for the condition he occupies in our system. An architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material—the granite; then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by nature for it, and by experience we know that it is the best not only for the superior, but the inferior race that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of HIS ordinances, or to question them. For HIS own purposes HE has made one race to differ from another as HE has made one ‘star to differ from another star in glory.’ The great objects of humanity are best attained when conformed to HIS laws, in the constitution of governments

The corner-stone of the Confederacy is human slavery.

as well as in all things else. Our Confederacy is founded upon a strict conformity with those laws. The stone which was rejected by the first builders is become the chief stone of the corner in our new edifice."

"Standing thus upon that external truth," he continued, "it was immaterial who or how many the antagonists of the South might be, she must necessarily triumph. Her territory is greater than France, Spain, Portugal, England, Ireland, and Scotland combined. Her population is far greater than that of the old thirteen colonies; her wealth five times more than theirs when they achieved their independence. With such an area of territory, such a population, with a climate and soil unsurpassed by any on the face of the earth, with such resources at her command, with productions which control the commerce of the world, who could entertain any doubt of success, whether others joined with her or not."

At the meetings of the Convention or Congress, various devices were presented for a national flag. The designers of these in many instances were patriotic ladies, who mistook the delusive calm of the moment for the token of permanent peace. They did not reflect that Constitutions and governments sometimes vanish away like the breath of a maiden from her mirror. Not without emotion do we remark that many of these designs were modifications of the grand old flag that had streamed forth triumphantly through the smoke of many a battle.

During the Revolutionary War, New York (1782) restrained the collection of debts due to persons in the enemy's lines; Massachusetts (1784) suspended judgment for interest on British debts; Virginia also had laws prohibiting the re-

Estimated strength
of the Confederacy.

Designs for a Con-
federate flag.

Repudiation of
commercial debts
to the North.

covery of British debts. A severe blow was now inflicted on the North by the Southern merchants and traders repudiating their debts. Business transactions had been conducted almost exclusively on a basis of credit, and at the time of this repudiation it was supposed that the South was nearly two hundred millions of dollars in debt to the North. The loss of this great sum entailed ruin on many commercial firms, and its first victims were those who had been the firmest supporters of the South.

A hard alternative pressed upon that portion of the Southern population—and there is reason to believe that it was by no means an insignificant portion—who disapproved of the secession proceedings. Their choice lay between actual treason to the nation and asserted treason to their state. The doctrine that the primary allegiance of a citizen is due to his state was no new invention; it was coeval with the republic. State influences pressed upon the individual more closely than national influences, which in their nature were more remote, and hence the former eventually extorted obedience. In a just estimate of the conduct of the Southern population, the inexorable severity of this dilemma must be continually kept in view.

In thus provoking war, the South acted under a delusion that she could accomplish her object with impunity; she did not count the cost; she did not bear in mind the monition—of whatever thou undertakest, consider well the end!

Her ideas were altogether an anachronism; they belonged not to the nineteenth century, but to the mediæval ages and to sub-tropical countries. War in her eyes was typified by the mail-clad knight and his caparisoned charger. But modern warfare is truly a problem of engineering, in

The hard dilemma
of the Southern
people.

They mistook the
character of mod-
ern war.

which there necessarily enter questions of finance. It is no longer an affair of brilliant courage and chivalry, trumpets and waving plumes; it is a cold calculation, into which there enter such things as census reports, the state of the money-market, steam-power, ship-building, iron-foundries, machine-shops, and all the busy industry of "the greasy-fisted mechanic."

"What king going to make war against another king sitteth not down first and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand men to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?" The militia force in the

They did not justly weigh their intrinsic force against the intrinsic force of the North.

Free States was more than double that in the Slave. The entire wealth of the Free States was at least two thousand millions more than that of the Slave. The ship-tonnage of the Free States was more than fivefold that of the Slave. The value of annual products in the Free States was at least sixfold that of the Slave. The machine-power of the Free States, fully developed, was actually incalculable. If from material power we turn to intellectual influences, the number of schools in the Free States was fourfold that of the Slave; the number of scholars in the Free States was sixfold that of the Slave; the number of newspapers in the Free States was five times as great as in the Slave; the number of patents issued to the Free States was sevenfold that to the Slave. If we consider the population, of the many millions of people in the Free States, all, as the event proved, were certain to uphold the government; in the Slave States there were only 346,000 persons who were actually the owners of slaves; and as to the slaves themselves, they must necessarily be altogether unreliable for operations against armies coming to set them free.

What prospect, then, was there of a triumphant issue to a war in support of slavery, if the North should be

Their first preponderance stealthily acquired and necessarily ephemeral.

found determined to use its tremendous power? To strip arsenals stealthily with the intention of disarming the Free States; to bring the public treasury to the verge of bankruptcy; to engross cabinet offices and betray cabinet secrets; to embarrass legislation in Congress; to have spies, male and female, at every point, were things ephemeral in their nature, and, unless immediate and decisive advantage could

The power of the North absolutely overwhelmed them at last.

be extracted from them, soon to prove of no use. And so accordingly it was. On one side, from reluctant beginnings and many disasters, power was steadily developed, until it became absolutely irresistible. On the other there was an unceasing decadence from the first enthusiasm, and complete exhaustion at last. A Northern army left in the white society of the South conspicuous marks of its enmity, and in the black an eternal monument of its friendship.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE LAST DAYS OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

South Carolina, steadily carrying out her intention, sent commissioners to Washington to treat with the government. In an imperious manner they called the President to account for the movements of Major Anderson in Charleston Harbor, and endeavored to throw on him the responsibility of the Civil War.

Dreadful position of President Buchanan. He was surrounded by treason, and could do nothing without being betrayed. Meantime the arming of the South went on without intermission. The relief-ship "Star of the West" was fired at by the South Carolinians, and the Civil War began. Enthusiasm of the South at its commencement, awful condition at its close.

The lesson taught by this war.

IF the North had misinterpreted the condition of affairs, believing that the secession clamor was nothing more than an electioneering device, intended to extort new concessions and new compromises from the victorious political party, the South was not without a corresponding delusion. Considering the pacific disposition of her antagonist, and misjudging the intentions of the Democratic party, on which she looked as a sure reliance in the time of trial, she did not believe that coercion would be resorted to. Forgetting that, in rejecting the Constitution, she voluntarily surrendered whatever benefits that instrument could yield; she denounced coercion as unlawful, and seemed to think it impossible. She flattered herself that a trading community can never be animated with a warlike intent. Trading communities, however, have been known to engage in the most bloody and longest wars. They count the cost, it is true, but whoever does that is not likely to act with vacillation.

The North regards secession as an electioneering device; the South believes it can be accomplished without resistance.

In supposing that the North was altogether devoted to trade, the ill-informed people of the dissatisfied states fell into a gross mistake. Commerce, it is true, forms a most important portion of the industry of the great cities, but the agricultural products of free labor were at the least a rival to those of slave labor. Indeed, the census showed that the farms of the North, in their annual profits, were worth more than the plantations of the South. This mixture of industries—productive and distributive; agricultural and commercial—gave to the communities possessing it singular political power. It has long been remarked that a purely agricultural community must ever be intrinsically poor, no matter what may be the apparent value of its products.

Mistakes in the North and the South respecting secession.

Meantime, as had been prearranged among the secession leaders, the movement spread. Though it was asserted in Charleston that President Buchanan would not re-enforce the works around that city, since to do so would be to inaugurate coercion, which the President, in his message, had condemned; and though the insurgents had scornfully cast off the restraints of the Constitution, they were still clamorously demanding its benefits, insisting that, should the government at Washington be justified in coercing individuals, it had no authority to coerce a state. Prudence, however, dictated that precautions ought to be taken, in view of the contingency that force might possibly be resorted to. Re-enforcements of troops were therefore brought from Savannah to Charleston. With an intention of securing the advantage of a paralysis of the incoming administration, the more audacious newspapers urged Virginia and Maryland to venture on the seizure of Washington. To get possession of the public offices and archives had become a part of the conspiracy.

The insurgents, though they had cast off the restraints of the Constitution, demand its benefits.

Virginia and Maryland incited to seize Washington City.

But Virginia lingered in her movements, and Maryland was too weak to act alone; the initiative, therefore, fell upon South Carolina, and the first resort to physical force occurred in the harbor of Charleston.

Major Anderson, who was in command of the insignificant government forces at Charleston, perceived that it was the intention of the secessionists to attack him. He had urgently represented to the War Department the necessity of re-enforcing him. Under the excuse that to send troops to the forts would only be to offend the excited South Carolinians, those re-enforcements were never sent, and Anderson was directed to address any communications he might have to make to the Adjutant General or to the Secretary of War, thus preventing General Scott from coming to a knowledge of the case. The full import of these instructions became obvious some months afterward, when the Adjutant General Cooper repaired to Montgomery and joined the Confederate army.

Major Anderson, in command at Charleston, applies to the government for re-enforcements.

He moves by night from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter.

Major Anderson, after repeated entreaties, finding that there was no hope of aid from Washington, proceeded, in the best manner he could, to make sure of his own safety. He was in Fort Moultrie, one of the weaker works in Charleston Harbor. During the night of December 26th he suddenly moved into Fort Sumter. It was built on an artificial island, made of stone chips from the quarries of New England, and had cost a million of dollars; its walls were sixty feet high, and from eight to twelve feet thick; its armament was 140 guns, in three tiers—at this time, however, it had only 75. The evacuation of Moultrie commenced a little after sundown, and in the bright moon of that night was quickly completed. The guns were spiked, the carriages burnt; the powder, cartridges, small-arms, clothing, provisions, accoutrements, and other munitions of war, were removed; the flag-staff was cut down.

In the North this movement was hailed with the utmost satisfaction, as an indication that Mr. Buchanan had at last nerved himself to defend the national cause, and that the government officers, civil and military, intended to discharge their duty. The transfer of the military force in Charleston Harbor—force it could hardly be called, for it consisted only of about seventy men—to a post that might at least for a few days longer be held, was regarded as an act calculated to rally the national heart. By occupying the key of the whole position, Major Anderson had rendered an attack upon himself less probable than it was before, and placed himself in a better position to resist it.

The occupation of Fort Sumter was received in Charleston with a paroxysm of anger—it was the signal for an explosion of treason in the cabinet at Washington. Mr. Floyd, the Secretary of War, on December 27th, read the following letter to President Buchanan in presence of the cabinet:

Anger it excites in Charleston.

“Council Chamber, Executive Mansion.

“SIR,—It is evident now, from the action of the commander of Fort Moultrie, that the solemn pledges of the government have been violated by Major Anderson. In my judgment, but one remedy is now left us by which to vindicate our honor and prevent civil war. It is in vain now to hope for confidence on the part of the people of South Carolina in any further pledges as to the action of the military. One remedy is left, and that is to withdraw the garrison from the harbor of Charleston. I hope the President will allow me to make that order at once. This order, in my judgment, can alone prevent bloodshed and civil war.

Mr. Floyd, the Secretary of War, urges the President to withdraw the American forces from Charleston.

“JOHN B. FLOYD.”

Mr. Floyd, on his recommendation being rejected, tendered his resignation as Secretary of War, which was promptly accepted by the President, who authorized the Postmaster, Mr.

His recommendation is rejected, and he resigns.

Holt, to act in his place. The President, however, explicitly states that he had previously requested Mr. Floyd to resign. There had been a fraudulent transaction in the Department of the Interior respecting a large sum (\$870,000), which had placed Mr. Floyd in a very delicate position. But before resigning he had ordered

He had transferred muskets, cannon, etc., from the Northern arsenals to the South.

heavy ordnance to be transferred from Alleghany Arsenal to Ship Island, and also to Galveston. Moreover, he had, by a single order, effected the transfer of 115,000 improved muskets and rifles from the Springfield Armory and Watervliet Arsenal to different arsenals at the South. Speaking of these transactions, a secession newspaper, the Mobile Advertiser, says, "During the past year 135,430 muskets have been quietly transferred from the Northern arsenal at Springfield alone to those of the Southern States. We are much obliged to Secretary Floyd for the foresight he has thus displayed in disarming the North, and equipping the South for this emergency. There is no telling the quantity of arms and munitions which were sent South from other arsenals." Mr. Floyd had also sent a large part of the United States army into

General Twiggs surrenders the army in Texas to that state,

Texas, and put it under the command of General Twiggs, who soon after surrendered it to the State of Texas. The clothing, commissary, and ordnance stores, animals with their harness, wagons, and other property thus lost, were in value \$1,209,500. This was exclusive of the public buildings. For this General Twiggs was subsequently dismissed from the army.

"War Department, March 1st, 1861.

"By the direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Brigadier General David E. Twiggs be, and is hereby dismissed from the Army of the United States for his treachery to the flag of his country, in having surrendered, on the 18th day of February,

And is dismissed by order of the President from the army for treachery.

1861, on the demand of the authorities of Texas, the military posts and other property of the United States in his department and under his charge. J. HOLT, Secretary of War."

No excuses can palliate such acts as those of Mr. Floyd. He did not betray his trust through fealty to Virginia, his native state, or for her sole benefit, but, being a confidential adviser of the President of the United States, he armed one section of the United States for military enterprises against the other.

Commissioners appointed by South Carolina to treat with the government of the United States arrived in Washington, and addressed the following letter to the President:

"Washington, December 29th, 1860.

"SIR,—We have the honor to transmit to you a copy of the full powers from the Convention of the people of South Carolina, under which we are authorized and empowered to treat with the government of the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines, light-houses, and other real estate, with their appurtenances, in the limits of South Carolina, and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property held by the government of the United States as agent for the confederated states of which South Carolina was recently a member, and generally to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between that commonwealth and the government at Washington.

"In the execution of this trust, it is our duty to furnish you, as we now do, with an official copy of the Ordinance of Secession, by which the State of South Carolina has resumed the powers she delegated to the government of the United States, and has declared her perfect sovereignty and independence.

"It would also have been our duty to have informed you that we were ready to negotiate with you upon all such questions as are necessarily raised by the adoption of this ordinance, and that we were prepared to enter upon this negotiation with the earnest de-

I.—M M

sire to avoid all unnecessary and hostile collision, and so to inaugurate our new relations as to secure mutual respect, general advantage, and a future of good-will and harmony beneficial to all the parties concerned.

“But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible. We came here, the representatives of an authority which could at any time within the past sixty days have taken possession of the forts in Charleston Harbor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that we can not doubt, determined to trust to your honor rather than to its own power. Since our arrival here, an officer of the United States, acting, as we are assured, not only without, but against your orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another, thus altering, to a most important extent, the condition of affairs under which we came.

And would have proceeded in their negotiation but for the recent movements of Major Anderson.

They suspend all discussions with the government until those events are explained.

justed.

“And, in conclusion, we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under the present circumstances they are a standing menace, which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threatens speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment.

But they urge the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Charleston.

“We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

“R. W. BARNWELL,
“J. H. ADAMS,
“JAS. L. ORR, } Commissioners.

“To the President of the United States.”

To this letter the President replied on the following day to the effect that he had defined his position as President of the United States in his recent message to Congress; that he had no authority to decide what should be the relations between the federal government and South Carolina, much less had he the power to acknowledge the independence

Reply of the President of the United States.

of that state. That would be to invest a mere executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the Union. An attempt of that kind would be a naked act of usurpation, and therefore it was his duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings.

He continued, that he was willing to receive the commissioners only as private gentlemen of the highest character, and communicate their proposition to Congress; he denied ever having given any such pledges respecting the forts in Charleston Harbor as was asserted, but indicated the manner in which such an impression might possibly have arisen. He furnished a memorandum of the instructions that had been given to Major Anderson by Mr. Floyd, the Secretary of War; among other things, to the effect that he had carefully abstained from increasing the force in that harbor, or taking any measures which might add to the public excitement there; and that, while that officer must carefully avoid every act which might needlessly provoke collision, if attacked, he must defend himself to the last extremity. He was also authorized, if attacked, or if he had tangible evidence of a design of that kind, to put his command into any one of the forts that he might think best.

Under these circumstances, the President added, it is clear that Major Anderson acted upon his own responsibility, and without authority, unless, indeed, he had tangible evidence on the part of South Carolina to proceed to a hostile act; but still, since he is a brave and honorable officer, justice requires that he should not be condemned without a fair hearing.

That, on learning that Major Anderson had left Fort Moultrie, his first promptings were to command him to return. "This could only have been done with any degree of safety to the command by the concurrence of the South Carolina authorities. But, before any step could

have possibly been taken in this direction, we received information that the 'Palmetto flag floated out to the breeze at Castle Pinckney, and a large military force went over last night to Fort Moultrie.' Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanations, and doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without, but against my orders, on the very next day after the night when the removal was made, seized by a military force two of the federal forts in the harbor of Charleston, and have covered them with their own flag instead of that of the United States. On the very day that possession of those two forts was taken, the Palmetto flag was raised over the federal Custom-house and Post-office in Charleston, and on the same day every officer of the customs—collector, naval officer, surveyor, and appraiser—resigned their offices. In the harbor of Charleston we now find three forts confronting each other, over all of which the federal flag floated only four days ago, but now over two of them this flag has been supplanted, and the Palmetto flag has been substituted in its stead. It is under all these circumstances that I am urged immediately to withdraw the troops from the harbor of Charleston, and am informed that without this negotiation is impossible. This I can not do—this I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No such allusion had been made in any communication between myself and any human being. At this point of writing I have received information by telegraph from Captain Humphreys, in command of the arsenal at Charleston, that it has to-day been taken by force of arms. It is estimated that the munitions of war belonging to this arsenal are worth half a million of dollars. Comment is needless. After this information, I have only to add, that while it is my duty to defend

Fort Sumter, as a portion of the public property of the United States, against hostile attacks, from whatever quarter they may come, by such means as I possess for this purpose, I do not perceive how such a defense can be construed into a menace against the city of Charleston."

To this letter of the President of the United States the South Carolina commissioners made reply, among other things saying that "the State of South Carolina having, in the exercise of that great right of self-government which underlies all our political organizations, declared herself sovereign and independent, we, as her representatives, feel no special solicitude as to the character in which you might recognize us." This was in reference to the President's remark that he could only receive them as private gentlemen. They then criticise certain points of his letter, correcting important misconceptions into which they affirmed he had fallen, and proceed to say: "Some weeks ago the State of South Carolina declared her intention, in the existing condition of public affairs, to secede from the United States. She called a Convention of her people to put her declaration in force. The Convention met, and passed the Ordinance of Secession. All this you anticipated, and your course of action was thoroughly considered in your annual message. You declared you had no right, and would not attempt to coerce a seceding state, but that you were bound by your constitutional oath, and would defend the property of the United States within the borders of South Carolina if an attempt was made to take it by force. Seeing very early that this question of property was a difficult and delicate one, you manifested a desire to settle it without collision. You did not re-enforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston. You removed a distinguished and veteran officer from the command of Fort

Rejoinder of the
commissioners
to him.

They taunt him
with vacillation
and accuse him
of deception,

Moultrie because he attempted to increase his supply of ammunition. You refused to send additional troops to the same garrison when applied for by the officer appointed to succeed him. You accepted the resignation of the oldest and most eminent member of your cabinet rather than allow the garrison to be strengthened. You compelled an officer stationed at Fort Sumter to return immediately to the arsenal forty muskets which he had taken to arm his men. You expressed, not to one, but to many of our most distinguished public characters, whose testimony will be placed upon the record whenever it is necessary, your anxiety for a peaceful termination of this controversy, and your willingness not to disturb the military status of the forts if commissioners should be sent to the government, whose communications you promised to submit to Congress. You received formal and official notice from the Governor of South Carolina that we had been appointed commissioners, and were on our way to Washington. We saw you, and called upon you then to redeem your pledge. You could not deny it. With the facts we have stated, and in the face of the crowning and conclusive fact that your Secretary of War had resigned his seat in the cabinet upon the publicly avowed ground that the action of Major Anderson had violated the pledged faith of the government, and that, unless the pledge was instantly redeemed, he was dishonored, denial was impossible; you did not deny it. You do not deny

And of an intention
of escaping from
his promises.

it now, but you seek to escape from its obligation. As to your assertion that the authorities of South Carolina, instead of asking explanations, and giving you an opportunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other property of the United States, we would observe that, even if this were so, it does not avail you for defense, for the opportunity for decision was afforded you before these facts occurred.

We arrived at Washington on Wednesday; the news from Major Anderson reached here early on Thursday, and was immediately communicated to you. All that day men of the highest consideration—men who had striven successfully to lift you to your great office, who had been your tried and true friends through the troubles of your administration, sought you and entreated you to act—to act at once. They told you that every hour complicated your position. They only asked you to give the assurance that, if the facts were so—that if the commander had acted without and against your orders, and in violation of your pledges—that you would restore the status you had pledged your honor to maintain. You refused to decide. For the last sixty days you have had in Charleston Harbor not force enough to hold the forts against an equal enemy. Two of them were empty; one of those two the most important in the harbor. It could have been taken at any time. You ought to know bet-

They tell him that the Charlestonians would have wrested the forts from him but for considerations of generosity,

ter than any man that it would have been taken but for the efforts of those who put their trust in your honor. Believing that they were threatened by Fort Sumter especially, the people were with difficulty restrained from securing, without blood, the possession of this important fortress. After many and reiterated assurances given on your behalf, which we can not believe unauthorized, they determined to forbear, and in good faith sent on their commissioners to negotiate with you. They meant you no harm—wished you no ill; they thought of you kindly, believed you true, and were willing, as far as was consistent with duty, to spare you unnecessary and hostile collision. Scarcely had these com-

And that they consider Major Anderson's movement as an act of war.

missioners left than Major Anderson waged war. No other words will describe his action. It was not a peaceful change from one

fort to another; it was a hostile act in the highest sense, and only justified in the presence of a superior enemy, and in imminent peril. He abandoned his position, spiked his guns, burned his gun-carriages, made preparations for the destruction of his post, and withdrew, under cover of the night, to a safer position. This was war. You have decided; you have resolved to hold by force what you have obtained through our misplaced confidence, and, by refusing to disavow the action of Major Anderson, have converted his violation of orders into a legitimate act of your executive authority. Be the issue what it may, of this we are assured, that if Fort Moultrie has been recorded in history as a memorial of Carolina gallantry, Fort Sumter will live upon the succeeding page as an imperishable testimony of Carolina faith."

“By your course you have probably rendered civil war inevitable. Be it so. If you choose to force this issue upon us, the State of South Carolina will accept it, and, relying upon him who is the God of Justice as well as the God of Hosts, will endeavor to perform the great duty which lies before her hopefully, bravely, and thoroughly.”

“Our mission being one for negotiation and peace, and your note leaving us without hope of a withdrawal of the troops from Fort Sumter, or of the restoration of the *status quo* existing at the time of our arrival, and intimating, as we think, your determination to re-enforce the garrison in Charleston Harbor, we respectfully inform you that we purpose returning to Charleston to-morrow afternoon.”

The following indorsement is made upon the foregoing document:

They cast upon him the responsibility of the civil war.

They appeal to the God of Hosts,

And decline all farther negotiations with the President.

“Executive Mansion, 3½ o’clock, Wednesday.

He declines to receive their letter.

“This paper, presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it.”

And, indeed, it was not possible that even the timid and vacillating President should take any other course. No impartial person could approve either of the spirit or the language of this communication, addressed as it was to the chief of thirty millions of people. It made a profound impression on men of all parties throughout the Free States. Even by those who were politically hostile to

Prejudicial effect of these letters on South Carolina.

Mr. Buchanan it was read with indignation. It alienated many who had heretofore looked on Southern interests with favor. They exclaimed, “Had General Jackson been President now, things would not have come to this pass. If the authors of such a paper had ventured to present it to him, they would not have escaped with impunity from his iron grasp.”

Mr. Buchanan’s subsequent statement respecting them.

Mr. Buchanan himself says, “This (letter) was so violent, unfounded, and disrespectful, and so regardless of what is due to any individual whom the people have honored with the office of President, that the reading of it in the cabinet excited indignation among all the members. With their unanimous approbation, it was immediately, on the day of its date, returned to the commissioners. Surely no negotiation was ever conducted in such a manner, unless, indeed, it had been the predetermined purpose of the negotiators to produce an open and impending rupture. It was presented to the Senate by Mr. Jefferson Davis immediately after the reading of the President’s Message on January 8th, and such was the temper of that body that it was received, read, and entered on the journals.” Mr. Davis followed it up by a severe attack on the President.

It has been said of the message of January 8th that

“it was a plea for mercy and a cry of despair; and that the President was appalled by the expectation of civil war.” But, in considering Mr. Buchanan's conduct during these trying times, we must bear in mind the special circumstances in which he was placed. He was living in an atmosphere of treason. His cabinet was disorganized; its confidential policy was repeatedly betrayed; a ship could not be ordered on secret service without the telegraph at once giving information to the secession conspiracy. All Washington was converted into a whispering gallery; what was uttered in secrecy in its council chamber was instantly reverberated to Montgomery. Senators who had sworn to support the Constitution of the United States were intriguing for its overthrow. Representatives were holding their seats in Congress merely to embarrass legislation, and be of service to the insurgents. It was a state of things which recalled the old times when conspirators against Rome were treasonably establishing a camp in Etruria, and Catiline was meeting with the Senate in the Temple of Jupiter Stator. Conclaves were held under the very shadow of the Capitol for the seizure of forts, arsenals, custom-houses, and for the organization of Conventions to insure secession in the distant states—the telegraph and the post-office were tampered with. Officers, forgetful of the honor of a soldier, surrendered their commissions—nay, more, surrendered the army; sailors were surrendering ships; arsenals were stealthily despoiled. The government itself was secretly disarmed; its munitions of war were transferred to its assailant; its troops, under specious pretenses, were sent off to the frontiers, there to be entrapped; its navy was treacherously dispersed all over the ocean; its finances, with atrocious skill, were brought apparently into irremediable ruin. The public

Extenuation of
his infirmity of
conduct.

He is living in an
atmosphere of
treason.

offices were swarming with disloyal men, and even of many of those who were loyal, the wives and daughters were not to be trusted. Nothing could be hidden from the female spies who pervaded society in Washington through and through. When Mr. Buchanan saw that so dreadful was the general demoralization that acts from which men had heretofore recoiled with abomination were now gloried in, and that there was no wickedness for which a justification could not be found; when he saw that he was held not only officially, but personally responsible for what was taking place, it is not to be wondered at that after the cabinet meeting of December 27th he lived in terror of assassination. On New Year's day hardly any of the customary calls were made on him. Loyal and disloyal men declined to shake hands with him. "I have tried," he said to Senator Fitzpatrick, "to do my duty to both sections, and have displeased both; I am isolated in the world." The disastrous issues of the self-contradictions of the party that had borne him to power were concentrating on his head. It was impossible for him to please one side without giving mortal offense to the other. A resolute man—a Cromwell—may cease to smile when he finds himself cut off from human sympathy, and sees a dagger coming out of every shadow; a weak man—a Buchanan—is appalled. Not without truth was it asserted in France that his presidency had been consumed in frantic attempts to prevent the escape of the slave power, and the consequent ruin of the Democratic party; that the South was determined to get out of the Union the moment the balance inclined against her, and that the rebellion was prepared at leisure; it was a slavery coup d'etat. These were not the times for one whose qualifications for his great office were subsequently described by his antagonist, Mr. Davis, the President of the

He becomes appalled at the difficulties around him.

Confederacy, as being that "he more nearly fulfilled the European idea of chief of state in his social relations than any other American since Washington; that he was dignified, polished, reticent, suave, fond of lady-gossip and the atmosphere of intrigue, a stickler for the ceremony of power." The President was alternately querulously casting the responsibility on Congress, and alternately proposing vain compromises with a triumphant conspiracy. The times demanded something more than a dexterous politician, a trimming placeman. The roaring gulf of a revolutionary Niagara could not be crossed by an acrobat, who must make his way on a slender and fearfully swaying rope, whose head was giddy with terror, and who, in mid-passage, had dropped his balancing-pole.

But the President was not unavenged for this outrage of the commissioners. This was the second occasion on which, through ill-conceived or unsuitable state papers, South Carolina brought injury on herself. Nor was that injury restricted to the forfeiture of esteem on the part of her friends in the North; it also extended to the slaveholding states; and accordingly it was seen in the subsequent administration of the affairs of the Confederacy that she never occupied a controlling position. Her office was to break the Union by violence. In that most important of all state papers which she could possibly put forth—the declaration of causes which induced her secession—she failed to rise to the dignity of the occasion, and instead of that masterly exhibition of the great facts of the case, which would have been given had Mr. Calhoun been spared to her, she sought to justify her momentous action by the weakest and most unpopular of the arguments that were at her command. Modern civilization had conclusively repudiated African slavery. It was not likely to accept any infractions of the Fugitive

Slave Law by the states of the North as a sufficient vindication for the inducing of civil war, and especially when it was openly affirmed that South Carolina herself had never lost a single slave through that cause. In Europe, the inadequacy of this document was a signal disappointment to those who were well disposed to favor its revolutionary intent. The Times, the great organ of public opinion in England, referring to it, remarks: "The instruments which the Carolinians drew up on this occasion are singular and almost amusing. The philosophy and phraseology of the Declaration of Independence of 1776 are imitated. Whole paragraphs are copied from that famous document. The thoughts and style of Jefferson were evidently influenced by the great writers of his age, and we may trace Montesquieu and Rousseau in every line of his composition. It is rather interesting to see his language, which denounced King George's violation of the social compact, used by a conclave of frantic negro-drivers to stigmatize the conduct of those who will not allow a Southern gentleman to bring his 'body-servant' into their territory. South Carolina, however, has shown wisdom in thus taking high ground. People are generally taken at the value which they set on themselves, and Carolina does right to play the part of outraged patience and indignant virtue."

Opinions in Europe
on these transac-
tions.

About the middle of December President Buchanan had dispatched Mr. Cushing to Charleston as his confidential agent. It was his desire to postpone the trouble now so unmistakably impending until after the inauguration of his successor, but it did not suit the views of the leaders of secession to gratify his wishes. Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, had resigned his position as Secretary of the Treasury on December 10th. General Cass, the Secretary of State, had re-

The cabinet is in a
state of disorgan-
ization.

signed on the 14th, though for a very different motive—disapproval of the President's refusal to sustain Major Anderson in Charleston by re-enforcements and provisions. Mr. Thompson, the Secretary of the Interior, followed their example early in January. Mr. Floyd's resignation has already been referred to. The cabinet was therefore actually in a state of dissolution at this most critical time; the President, surrounded by treason, was wavering, and undetermined what to do.

Among those who were brought into power by these cabinet changes was Edwin M. Stanton. His first office was that of attorney general. In the subsequent administration of Mr. Lincoln he rose to a position of supreme responsibility. He stood forth what his country in her hour of darkness and extremity sorely needed—a great war-minister.

In the annals of England, our ancestral country, there is no counterpart of this man; in the annals of France there is but one.

Meanwhile the seizure of the national property by the Slave States went on without any check. Georgia took possession of the arsenal at Augusta, and of Forts Pulaski and Jackson. North Carolina seized the arsenal at Fayetteville, Fort Macon, and the defenses of Beaufort and Wilmington. Alabama seized the arsenal at Mobile, and also Fort Morgan. Louisiana seized the arsenal at Baton Rouge, the Mint and Custom-house at New Orleans, together with Forts Jackson and St. Philip, commanding the Mississippi, and Fort Pike, which commanded Lake Pontchartrain. Florida and Alabama conjointly seized the navy yard at Pensacola, and Fort Barrancas and Fort M'Rae. If to these be added the property given up to Texas by General Twiggs, the munitions of war with which the seized arsenals had been filled by the premed-

Seizure of the national property by the seceding states.

itated orders of Mr. Floyd, the gold taken from the various sub-treasuries—half a million of dollars being obtained from that of New Orleans alone; the great navy yard at Norfolk, with its ships of war and two thousand cannon; the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, shortly after seized by Virginia. The total value of the national property which the secessionists had thus obtained can not be estimated at less than forty millions of dollars; it was seized with impunity, because it was without defense. Fortunately for the nation, Fortress Monroe, in Virginia, the most valuable of all these public works, escaped; it played a most conspicuous and decisive part in the ensuing military operations.

And now President Buchanan came to the determination to make a clandestine attempt to re-enforce and provision the garrison of Fort Sumter. Accordingly, the steamer "Star of the

The President attempts clandestinely the relief of Fort Sumter.

West" left New York on the night of January 5th for that purpose. The intention was that she should accomplish her object privately; but Mr. Thompson, of Missis-

His intention is betrayed by a cabinet minister.

issippi, the Secretary of the Interior, after attending a meeting of the cabinet, actually sent a dispatch to Charleston, informing the secession authorities there of the circumstance. On the

appearance of the ship in Charleston Harbor, she was accordingly fired at from a battery on Morris

The relief-ship Star of the West is fired at by the Charlestonians and driven off.

Island. "She had the American flag flying at the time, and, soon after the first shot,

hoisted a large American ensign. She continued under fire for more than ten minutes. She was struck just abaft the fore-rigging, and her planking stove in; one shot came within an ace of carrying away the rudder." At the same time, two steamers and a schooner made an attempt to cut her off. Under these circumstances, having no cannon, she wore round and steamed

for sea, the battery firing at her until the shot fell short. She returned, her object thus unaccomplished, to New York.

Thus South Carolina commenced the civil war. She took the fearful responsibility of resisting the American government in the discharge of its manifest duty, and fired at the American flag. In her delirium of fancied sovereignty, she cast from her all thought that an avenger would one day come. The Slave States, from Chesapeake Bay to the Mexican frontier, joined with her in a bacchanal dance. They were goddesses in each other's eyes. The frantic tumult spread along every river and over every mountain. On a later page we shall see the consequences of their intoxication, their thyrsus with its ivy and vines broken, themselves desolate, disheveled, and ruined.

The first shot in the civil war.

Awful responsibility of South Carolina in these transactions.

Batteries commanding Charleston Harbor were now assiduously constructed, Fort Moultrie was repaired, and things got in readiness to open fire on Major Anderson in Fort Sumter.

The South proceeds in all directions to arm itself.

The Governor of Virginia announced that "he will regard the attempt of (American) troops to pass across Virginia for the purpose of coercing a Southern state as an act of invasion which must be repelled." Artillery was sent to Vicksburg to control the navigation of the Mississippi River. Even from New York itself an attempt was made to ship fire-arms to the South; one express company is accused of having forwarded to New Orleans forty tons of shot, shell, and powder. In retaliation for the stoppage in New York of muskets intended for Georgia, the governor of that state seized several New York ships.

Officers, both of the army and navy, resigned their commissions and took up arms against the government.

Officers in the
United States
army and navy
resign their com-
missions.

Ships were made over by their captains, not to the authorities of their own states, but to the insurgents elsewhere. Even the pleas of state-rights and primary state allegiance were disregarded. Thus Captain Breshwood, a Virginian, surrendered the revenue cutter he commanded to the State of Louisiana. The mutinous spirit thus appearing in the navy was strikingly manifested by the reply of this officer to the special agent sent out by the government to order him to bring his vessel to New York.

Ships are surren-
dered to the in-
surgents.

“SIR,—Your letter, with one of the 19th of January from the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, I have duly received, and, in reply, I refuse to obey the order.

“I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“JOHN G. BRESHWOOD, Captain.”

The President had vacillated in his conduct with the insurgents; not so, however, did his Secretary of the Treasury. On receiving the news of Captain Breshwood's act, the following dispatch was forthwith sent to New Orleans:

“Treasury Department, January 29th, 1861.

“W. HEMPHILL JONES, New Orleans:

“Tell Lieutenant Caldwell to arrest Captain Breshwood, assume command of the cutter, and obey the order through you. If Captain Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieutenant Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer, and treat him accordingly. If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.

The Secretary of
the Treasury at-
tempts to check
the mutiny.

“JOHN A. DIX, Secretary of the Treasury.”

It is needless to relate in detail the abortive attempts that were made to conciliate the South after the Charleston Ordinance of Secession had been passed. The Democratic party, know-

Renewed attempts
to conciliate the
South.

I.—N N

ing well that its influence had always depended on a coalition with its slavery ally, was willing to forget the contumely with which it had been spurned, and to make any concession. The Republicans, solicitous to secure their peaceable advent to place, would "convince the disturbers that their only safe course was to desist, and behave themselves;" "they could not see why their adversaries should not submit unqualifiedly to the result of a fair and honest election, as *they* had uniformly done." But

They are altogether abortive.

the time had gone by for Crittenden compromises, Senate committees of thirteen, House committees of thirty-three, amendments of the Constitution, Peace Conventions. The slave power saw clearly that now or never it must take its stand; it persuaded itself that, so far from arbitrarily controlling the Union, as it had done for sixty years, there was no longer any safety in the Union for it. For long it had been contending against the dogmas of "human equality" and "the political wisdom of a brute majority." To surrender its convictions on those points now was, in its opinion, to surrender its institutions and disorganize its society. The numbers and power of its antagonist had fearfully increased.

Proud and impetuous, it took its course. Giving itself no concern for promises, protestations, guarantees—all of which it perceived were valueless, and certain to be made nugatory by the irresistible process of events—it broke away from its "Northern master, and his voter, the foreign vagrant." It persuaded itself that if it were once relieved from the pressure of the North, it could maintain its slave system in spite of the unanimous condemnation of the whole world.

Inauguration of a reign of terror in the South.

A reign of terror, a vision of independence, appeals to patriotism, the novel excite-

ment of military life, a prospect of placing the slave institution beyond the reach of Abolitionism, soon gave unanimity to the South. Her journalism was disgraced by unscrupulous misrepresentations and an unparalleled gasconade. An illiterate people was made to believe that it was the most enlightened, the most religious, the most polite, the most chivalrous community on earth. One Southern soldier was equal in battle to five Yankees; many were of opinion that that number was too small, and were rather disposed to put it at ten. The sentiment of "indignant virtue," which had originated in Charleston, and had caused so much amusement in Europe, spread like a delusion of insanity through the South. Forgetting her conspiracy of thirty years, which had culminated in her firing on the national flag, she actually persuaded herself, before many months were gone, that "the North was the aggressor, through jealousy of her superior civilization and virtues, and the purer and more pious life of her society."

Her politicians had more than accomplished their purpose of firing the Southern heart. They had ignited the whole country. Every thing was in a dance of excitement, like the quivering of objects seen over a hot surface. The deceitful mirage of independence loomed up in the distance, but, like the mirages of Sahara, was destined never to be reached. The sky was full of parhelions of delusive glory. The women, blazing with treason, flitted about like fire-flies on an autumn night.

Not a doubt was any where entertained that the passage of an Ordinance of Secession was equivalent to the establishment of a great slave empire. Up to this time, in America, every thing had been settled by voting, and why not this? and up to this time, in happy America, no one knew

Condition of
Southern journal-
ism.

Firing of the
Southern heart.

Continued delu-
sion as to the facil-
ity of secession.

what was truly meant by that little but most awful monosyllable—war. When the President of the United States called for 75,000 soldiers, the news was received in Montgomery with screams of derisive laughter. There are many mourning and ruined families in America who know what war means now.

In Charleston that dreadful arbitrament was first invoked. Crowds of beautiful ladies and gallant gentlemen went out to see the cannons fired. When the American flag was hauled down in Fort Sumter it was a gala-day—a day of champagne, conviviality, chivalry.

Enthusiasm in
Charleston at the
opening of the war.

Let us read what is written by an eye-witness who walked through Charleston after an avenging American army had raised again that insulted flag: "The wharves looked as if they had been deserted for half a century—broken down, dilapidated; grass and moss peeping up between the pavements, where once the busy feet of commerce trode incessantly. The warehouses near the river, the streets as we enter them, the houses, and the stores, and the public buildings—we look at them, and hold our breath in utter amazement. Every step we take increases our astonishment. No pen, no pencil, no tongue can do justice to the scene; no imagination can conceive the utter wreck, the universal ruin, the stupendous desolation. Ruin, ruin, ruin, above and below, on the right hand and on the left, ruin, ruin, ruin, every where and always—staring at us from every paneless window, looking out at us from every shell-torn wall, glaring at us from every battered door, pillar, and veranda, crouching beneath our feet on every side-walk. Not Pompeii, nor Herculaneum, nor Tadmor, nor the Nile, have ruins so complete, so saddening, so plaintively eloquent, for they speak to us of an age not ours and long ago dead, with whose people, and

Awful condition of
Charleston at its
close.

life, and ideas we have no sympathy whatever; but here, on these shattered wrecks of houses—built in our own style, many of them doing credit to the architecture of our epoch—we read names familiar to us all, telling us of trades, and professions, and commercial institutions which every modern city reckons up by the hundred—yet dead, dead, dead; as silent as the graves of the Pharaohs, as deserted as the bazars of the merchant princes of old Tyre.”

Devastated and desolate condition of all the seceding states. If that wayfarer had followed the baleful path of secession through these now blasted, but once beautiful provinces of the Sun, he would have seen the footprints of RETRIBUTION every where—retribution on those who, for the sake of ambitious ends, bring upon their country the greatest of all curses—civil war. In Columbia, where the Convention first met, and whence it was driven by a loathsome pestilence, stark chimneys point out where family hearthstones once were. If he inquired in Charleston for St. Andrew’s Hall, where the ordinance was passed, or for the Institute in which it was signed, some emancipated black would point out to him piles of charred rubbish. The tomb in St. Philip’s Church-yard he would find had been violated by the friendly hands of a sad remnant of those who had once made obeisance before it—a remnant spared from the hospital and the sword—and the ashes of the great teacher of secession piously secreted from a conqueror’s wrath. He would see that the prophetic threat from a state in the far North had come to pass: “The rebellion, which began where Charleston is, shall end where Charleston was.”

Had that awe-stricken traveler gone into the Border States, he would have found Retribution in Rolleston, the home of that Governor of Virginia who put to an ignominious death, by hanging, the brave old fanatic, John

Brown, for trying to liberate slaves; in that home he would have seen "a Yankee school-marm" teaching negroes to read the Bible, and that "school-marm" the daughter of "old John Brown."

In the once picturesque, but now desolated woods of Arlington, that City of the Silent, the shades of ten thousand American soldiers, whose ghastly corpses lie under its grassy lawns, are fitting in the midnight moonshine and beckoning its master to come—not to the fantastic dance of its gay and glittering halls, but to the dread tribunal of that inexorable Judge who will demand why these men were deprived of light and life. It is the unearthly welcome of Warwick and the Prince to Clarence in his dream.

Can any one doubt that there is Retribution when he sees the once imperious master of many hundred slaves now lowly bending his forehead on the footstool of a "poor white"—who in his early life gained his bread by the humblest industry—and submissively supplicating for pardon, waiting in hope for permission to touch the tip of the outstretched sceptre of clemency?

The stars, in their courses in the heavens, are guided by immutable law, and the families of men upon earth are judged with unswerving equity. For her participation in the great American crime, the North has had mourning sent into tens of thousands of her families, and the wealth she has wearied herself in acquiring is wrung from her by remorseless taxation. Her more guilty sister, the South, has in bitterness of soul surrendered far more than her first-born; and as the African many a time fainted under the lash of a cruel task-master, so now she faints under the lash of THE ANGEL OF RETRIBUTION. In her former days of peace she hugged slavery to her bosom, and now, that peace is at last given back to her, she is condemned

Retribution on the
North and on the
South.

to be chained with adamant to that black and festering carcass. Guilty then—both of us—in the sight of God, let us not vex each other with mutual crimination, but bear with humility our punishment, though it may be, as our chief magistrate once told us, the hard penalty, that for every tear the black man has shed, the white man shall pay a drop of blood.

There is another people whose day of retribution is not far off—who brought the curse of slavery on this nation; who, for the sake of gain, armed it and strengthened it in its dying battle; who abetted it in its treason, and encouraged it in its fratricidal strife.

Retribution awaiting England.

Shall he who writes the story of this hideous war hide from his reader its fearful lesson? shall he not remember that on this wide-spread continent climate is making us a many-diversified people? that, in the nature of things, we must have our misunderstandings and our quarrels with one another? If, in the future, there should be any one who undertakes to fire the heart of his people, and to set in mortal battle a community against the nation, let us leave him without the excuse which the war-secessionist of our time may perhaps not unjustly plead, that he knew not what he did. Let us put our experience in the primer of every child; let us make it the staple of the novel of every school-girl; let us tear from this bloody conflict its false grandeur and tinsel glories, and set it naked in the light of day—a spectacle to blanch the cheek of the bravest man, and make the heart of every mother flutter as she sits by her cradle.

The lesson to be learned from this civil war.

